



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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15 June 1990

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Gabon

Prime Minister Holds News Conference in Paris

AB1306221990 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1830 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Text] The European tour of the Gabonese head of government is virtually over. In Paris, Mr. Casimir Oye-Mba is due to meet Mr. Rocard, his French counterpart. Apart from France, the Gabonese prime minister also visited Luxembourg and Belgium. What was the purpose of this West European visit? This morning, Casimir Oye-Mba answered this question while speaking to Radio France Internationale:

[Begin Oye-Mba recording] First of all, I came to strengthen the friendship between Gabon and the countries and institutions with which we work in this region. I also came to clarify a number of issues and explain to our partners, with whom we maintain very longstanding ties of friendship and cooperation, what happened in our country and what we are busy doing there. Finally, I came to arouse the awareness of these partners about our problems, in the sense that we want to impress upon them that we are conscious of our problems. We made a number of decisions to settle them, but nonetheless, we still need their support. [end recording]

The head of the Gabonese Government whom you have just heard here [words indistinct]. He explained the fate of the people arrested at Port-Gentil [word indistinct], Gabon, during the riots which led to the imposition of the state of siege:

[Begin Oye-Mba recording] (?Seven) people were arrested under normal (?legal) circumstances, since they disturbed the peace, and they will be tried and judged normally in accordance with those laws. The law will be applicable to them in all its dimensions, with all its facilities. [end recording]

Assessment Mission Curtails Port-Gentil Visit

AB1406203590 Dakar PANA in French 1440 GMT
11 Jun 90

[Text] Libreville, 11 Jun (AGP-GAB/PANA)—The Gabonese assemblymen on an assessment mission to Port-Gentil and the Ogooue Maritime Province, where a state of siege has been in force for several weeks now, cut short their visit to the province at the request of the Ministry of National Defense, the national television correspondent who accompanied the delegation announced yesterday in Libreville.

The journalist, who did not disclose the reasons for this decision and the sudden return to the capital by the parliamentary bureau delegation, said the people on whom the state of siege was imposed were showing increasing unrest because of the military presence but

that calm had returned to Port-Gentil, where economic activities are also beginning to pick up.

The parliamentary delegation, which was led by the third deputy speaker of the National Assembly, Jonas Ovondo Assoumou, held a series of discussions in the area, notably with the mayor of Port-Gentil, Major General Rizombo, and the military governor of Ogooue Maritime Province, General Ella Abessole. The delegation was planning to visit various localities in the province when the order to return to Libreville was given by the Defense Ministry.

The speaker of the National Assembly, Augustin Boumah, who recently resigned from his post, was also member of this delegation. Mr. Boumah today is expected to meet Defense Minister Martin Fidele Maganga [title as received] and senior security officers.

Mr. Boumah resigned as speaker of the National Assembly after soldiers broke into his residence without his knowledge to look for one of his nephews thought to be the ringleader of disturbances which broke out in Libreville after the death, hitherto unexplained, of the secretary general of the Gabonese Progress Party (PGP-opposition), Joseph Rendjembe, on 23 May. These demonstrations culminated in Port-Gentil and Ogooue Maritime Province, from where Rendjembe hailed.

Meanwhile, no date has been officially announced for the funeral of the secretary general of the PGP, and the results of the toxicological analysis to determine the cause of his death are still awaited.

Furthermore, the PGP of Louis Agonjo has opened negotiations with Libreville authorities. The militia, which after the death of Mr. Rendjembe, sealed off the area around Mr. Agonjo's residence, has withdrawn.

It has been learned from various sources that the government and the family of the deceased had agreed that the funeral of the PGP secretary general would take place at Omboue, his home village, about 100 kilometers from Port-Gentil. All is set for the funeral, it was confirmed at PGP headquarters in Libreville. It was also announced that a PGP delegation went to Port-Gentil and Omboue a few weeks ago to make the necessary preparations for the ceremony.

The Gabonese assemblymen today in Libreville extended the Ogooue Maritime Province state of siege, whose 15-day renewable limit had passed. Their visit was necessary to determine whether such a decision was justified. Meanwhile, calm is returning to the national territory as a whole, and the government is working to reactivate the economy of the country, which since the beginning of the disturbances in January, has had a budget deficit of about 160 billion CFA francs. This year's entire budget is estimated at 400 billion CFA francs.

Ethiopia

EPLF Rejects Peace Talks With Government

EA1406190790 *Addis Ababa Domestic Service in Amharic* 1700 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter has revealed that the self-styled Sha'biyyah secessionist group [Eritrean People's Liberation Front, EPLF] is unwilling to take part in peace talks. President Carter revealed this in a message to Comrade President Mengistu Haile Mariam.

Moreover, President Carter revealed in a press statement he issued in Atlanta last night—just as the Ethiopian Government took an additional step toward resuming the stalled talks aimed at finding peaceful solutions to the problems in Eritrea, and the cochairmen/mediators were preparing to resume the talks next month—that the self-styled Sha'biyyah group decided it would not take part in the peace efforts. In his statement to journalists, President Carter said that whereas the secessionist group had stated it was unwilling to resume the peace talks, it had given no reason for this.

The secessionist group revealed its unwillingness to take part in the peace talks at a time when President Carter and Julius Nyerere, who were elected as cochairmen/mediators, were preparing to resume the peace talks in Nairobi next month, he noted. President Carter noted that the so-called Sha'biyyah secessionist group had again ignited the war which had temporarily subsided soon after the second round of talks in Nairobi. Moreover, it had been very slow to respond to the additional steps taken by the Ethiopian Government to bring about a resumption of the peace talks.

Carter pointed out that the secessionist group, acting in the belief that it (could) bring its whims to realization by military means, had tended toward nonresumption of the peace dialogue, particularly since last November. He hinted that winning an odd victory does not amount to winning a war.

Rebels Report Merhabete Province Air Raid

EA1406114990 (*Clandestine Voice of the Ethiopian People for Peace, Democracy, and Freedom* in Amharic) 0430 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Excerpts] In a barbaric air raid it carried out in Northern Shewa, the fascist Dergue killed 23 compatriots and wounded 13. In the air raid carried out on 10 June, in Merhabete Province [about 80 miles north of Addis Ababa], (Zebit) District, at a village called Ticha, 23 compatriots

were killed, 13 wounded, and 60 houses with all their contents were burned down. [passage omitted]

Those compatriots subjected to this barbaric atrocity have vowed to exact vengeance against the fascists. [passage omitted]

Kenya

Deputy Minister Lijoodi Backs Finger Slashing

EA1406125790 *Nairobi Domestic Service in English* 1830 GMT 13 Jun 90

[From the "Day in Parliament" program]

[Excerpts] The ruling party, KANU [Kenyan African National Union], is ready to reexamine itself in order to make it more effective. This was said by an assistant minister for information and broadcasting, Mr. Japheth Lijoodi, while contributing to the motion on the budget speech which was moved yesterday by the vice president and minister for finance, Professor George Saitoti.

Mr. Lijoodi noted that the multiparty advocates had lost their visions and were now serving their foreign masters. The assistant minister, who is also the KANU national treasurer, said that there was a need to cut off the fingers of those calling for multi-parties, as they need counseling. [passage omitted]

Contributing to the motion, an assistant minister for commerce, Mr. David Kombo, claimed that the proponents of democratic pluralism are rich and ambitious people. He urged the CPK [Churches of the Province of Kenya] to keep off politics and stick to religion.

Mr. Kombo castigated at British Broadcasting Corporation, BBC, for being biased when reporting events in Kenya. [passage omitted]

Leitich Retracts Order

EA1406130190 *Nairobi Domestic Service in English* 0415 GMT 14 Jun 90

[From "The Press Today" program]

[Text] The DAILY NATION carries in its front page the Nakuru KANU [Kenya African National Union] branch chairman's, Mr. Wilson Leitich, withdrawal of his earlier instructions to Nakuru KANU youthwingers to chop off the two fingers flashed out by the advocates of the multiparty system.

De Klerk Assures Abolition of Group Areas Act

*MB1406103590 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 0500 GMT 14 Jun 90*

[Text] The state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, says the Group Areas Act will be scrapped but that protection will be afforded to people who are affected.

In an interview with an American newspaper, THE WASHINGTON TIMES, he said that this act and the Land Act will be considered during the next sitting of parliament. He said that the acts will be repealed in certain areas nonracially and equitably. Ways would also be found to protect the traditional norms of land ownership by blacks.

Commenting on prescribed reform in South Africa, President De Klerk said that his method of approach was to govern and prepare the country in such a way that a stable foundation would be laid. Speed was of the essence but care would also have to be taken not to move too hastily. He said that for this reason, several months will be taken to consider the implications of the scrapping of the Group Areas Act and Land Act so as not to cause damage.

President De Klerk said that he was aware that once the mandate that he had received from the electorate was implemented, and as he put it, began hurting certain people, his popularity could decline sharply. He said that he was not worried about the successful application of his mandate.

President De Klerk said that the United States, along with the rest of the world, should reconsider its standpoint on sanctions against South Africa and accept that a changed South Africa was a new reality. He said that irreversible reform and changes that had already occurred, made moderate goals vulnerable to radicals of both left and right. These people were prepared to use the situation for their own purposes if change did not bring progress.

Du Plessis Addresses Parliament on Sanctions

*MB1406140690 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1359 GMT 14 Jun 90*

[Text] Parliament June 14 SAPA—The government would welcome the lifting of sanctions, but was more concerned about the harm of real and potential disinvestment, the minister of finance, Mr. Barend du Plessis, said on Thursday. Speaking in the second reading of the budget, he said South Africa had survived the sanctions of the past and had used them to accelerate the restructuring of the economy that had already been in progress.

The country had found its own levels of growth within the parameters of sanctions. On the basis of its policies and disciplines, it was equipped to continue indefinitely and make substantial progress at the same time.

"While we should certainly welcome the lifting of sanctions, more especially from the point of view of easing the lot of those on whom they have had a direct and brutal impact, we are more concerned with the harm of real and potential disinvestment following in the wake of ongoing violence, lawlessness and economic myopia."

He said confidence was vital for economic growth and nobody could be naive enough to believe that the lifting of sanctions could be used as a magic wand to unleash economic growth.

"Are businessmen—the most careful calculators of profit and loss—really encouraged to plan ahead and to invest when lying under the cloud, not only of nationalisation rumblings, but also, and more gravely, of the mindless destruction, alike physical and economic that is playing itself out under the ANC's paternal eye?"

There was no guarantee that when sanctions were lifted the private sector would simply breathe a sigh of relief and return to business as usual.

"And why should it—given the record of the past few years, with its killings, its intimidation, its arson and destruction, its school and consumer boycotts, stayaways, its lengthening list of politically-inspired holidays, its preposterous wage and allied demands and a spirit of anarchy in some quarters, who would take upon himself the hard task of creating wealth, that in any event, if rhetoric is in any way to be believed, stands to be snatched from him under the label of reparation, redistribution or similar high sounding euphemisms."

There were also no doubt that posturing both to the left and right of the government had had an adverse effect on markets and had substantially eroded business confidence.

Speaks on Trade Balance

*MB1406144990 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1432 GMT 14 Jun 90*

[Text] Parliament June 14 SAPA—The fall in the gold price would adversely affect gold export earnings but a current account surplus of between R[Rand]5 and R6 billion would still be posted, the minister of finance, Mr. Barend du Plessis, said on Thursday.

Speaking in the second reading of the budget, he said the balance of trade had been encouraging for the year so far, with a cumulative trade surplus of R5 billion for the first four months.

The economy was still in a downswing but there were indications that there would be a soft landing.

"In the nature of things the eventual outcome will depend of several factors, including external factors, wage increases and in particular economic policies."

The high rates at which wages and salaries were being adjusted and the ensuing pressure on inflation complicated the task of the monetary and fiscal authorities in bringing down the inflation rate faster.

He appealed to employers to keep this effect in mind in wage negotiations because it was not possible to create real income and wealth by wage increases not supported by higher production.

Amendment Bill Affects Homelands' Status

MB3005123390 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1100 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] A bill published in Cape Town provides for the state president to initiate inquiries into the use of funds appropriated by Parliament for the requirements of self-governing territories. The bill, the National States Constitution Amendment Bill, also formalizes the changing of the term national state to self-governing territory. The act will be known as the Self-Governing Territories Act in future.

The bill provides for proclamations on Moetse and Botshabelo to be validated for the period until the appellate division of the Supreme Court declared them null and void. This was done in order to prevent a vacuum arising in the administration of the districts.

The governments of the territories will also be empowered to legislate on education provided to people outside their territories with the approval of the minister of education and development aid.

Officials React to Death Penalty Legislation

MB1406090190 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] The minister of justice, Mr. Kobie Coetsee, says the government hopes that legislation to abolish the compulsory imposition of the death sentence will bring South Africa nearer to a just and equitable dispensation in this sensitive area of jurisprudence.

Introducing a parliamentary debate on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, Mr. Coetsee said that it was the government's sincere wish that the adoption of proposals contained in the legislation would significantly influence the imposition of the death sentence.

Significant contribution to the legislation had been made by the bench, the chief justice, and judge's president. The Joint Committee on Justice had introduced several amendments. These included: removing treason from the rest of crimes that could be punished by the death penalty, except when the country was in a state of war.

The Conservative Party has rejected the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. The party's spokesman on justice, Mr. Fanie Jacobs, has said during a debate on the bill that the legislation would lead to the de facto abolition of the death sentence. Mr. Jacobs said that this would remove one of the stumbling blocks to negotiations with the ANC [African Nation Congress]. He said that the decision to impose the death sentence would rest with people with different approaches and could depend on matters totally unrelated to the crime.

The Democratic Party's chief spokesman on justice, Mr. Dave Dalling, pleaded for the abolition of the death sentence for all offences.

Solidarity's chief spokesman, Mr. Faruk Cassim, said that people who condemned the government for retaining the death penalty should be prepared also to condemn murder committed in the name of the so-called struggle.

The Labor Party says it will allow its members to debate the amendment bill and vote on it according to their moral and religious dictates. A member of parliament for Durban suburbs, Mr. Luwellyn Landes, said that the Labor Party caucus had decided that the total abolition of the death penalty was undesirable at this stage.

UN Delegation Meets Natal Association Officials

MB1406184590 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1636 GMT 14 Jun 90

[By Iain MacDonald]

[Text] Pietermaritzburg June 14 SAPA—Sanctions were the result of apartheid and the sooner apartheid ended the sooner sanctions would be lifted, the visiting United Nations delegation told South African authorities on Thursday.

This was one of the points the UN group made during discussions with Natal provincial association [NPA] members in Pietermaritzburg, according to MEC [Member of the Executive Council] Mr. Tino Vlok.

Mr. Vlok, who chaired part of the discussion with the UN team, said he had pointed out to the visitors that there was "a declared attitude and irrevocable programme by the government and all tiers of local government to abolish apartheid."

He said the UN team had received many conflicting statements on sanctions and on other issues such as the violence in Natal, and had sought clear information from the NPA.

"We had a general discussion on prevalent attitudes within South Africa and I gained the impression there did not appear to be any malicious intent on the part of the UN delegation," Mr. Vlok said.

"We discussed the Natal situation and I pointed out that we are trying to improve the lot of all by various means and without prejudice," he added.

Parliament Debates ANC Stand on Sanctions

MB1406185290 Johannesburg Television Service in English 1800 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Video report by Correspondent Clarence Keyter from Parliament]

[Text] Though concern about the drop in the gold price was expressed by several members who also gave their view of the economic prospects, this afternoon's debate was dominated by sanctions and the ANC's [African National Congress] continued plea in this regard.

Introducing the second reading debate, the minister of finance, Mr. Barend du Plessis, strongly rebuked the ANC leadership for its stance on the continued imposition of sanctions against South Africa. He said the ANC appeared to regard the lifting of sanctions as something within its writ alone. Worse than that, Mr. du Plessis said, the ANC naively seemed to think that it was a trump card to be played as circumstances dictated, one that always retained the same value.

He added that the economy was an ever-changing entity, shaped to a large measure by the perceptions and sentiments of those who were part of it or were involved in it in the wider circle of the world economy.

Mr. du Plessis asked if anyone could be so naive as to think that a simple yes or no on sanctions could be used like a magic wand to unleash the economic growth on which constitutional reform depended. He also questioned whether businessmen were really encouraged to plan ahead under the cloud of rumblings of nationalization, as well as the mindless physical and economic destruction that was damaging confidence locally and overseas under the paternal eye of the ANC.

Following Mr. du Plessis, speaker after speaker spoke out against the ANC's continued call for sanctions.

Labor Party spokesman on finance, Mr. Les Abrahams, said no black leader dared to call for continued sanctions merely because he wanted to gain the keys to Tuynhuys on a platter.

Finance spokesman for the CP [Conservative Party], Mr. Casper Uys, said the lifting of sanctions would have no real effect on investments under a cloud of nationalization.

Also on the point of nationalization, the DP's [Democratic Party] Mr. Harry Schwarz said there was real concern in South Africa about the possibility of socialist concepts, including nationalization. He said those opposed to it should prove that they had an answer by doing something dramatic about job creation.

The member for Clare Estate in the House of Representatives, Mr. Ashwon Mohandlal, asked whether the ANC was politically bankrupt for only using sanctions. He added that the time had come for Mr. Mandela to back another horse.

The leader of the United Democratic Party, in the House of Representatives, Mr. Jac Rabie, said he found it strange that Mr. Mandela, while calling for sanctions in Germany, would soon be the recipient of a luxury German car made in South Africa.

The debate continues this evening.

Treurnicht Terms Sanctions 'Cold War' Actions

MB1506073890 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, said it was a pity that the European Parliament wished to continue with its punitive measures against South Africa.

He said the sanctions with which South Africa was being blackmailed were a form of cold war that certain countries wanted to continue unless the government could show that its reform initiatives were irreversible.

Dr. Treurnicht said he found it humiliating that other countries could prescribe to a sovereign state how it should conduct its politics and bully it with economic sanctions.

De Beer Says Democrats To Aid CP's Opponents

MB1506094990 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0934 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] Parliament June 15 SAPA—The Democratic Party [DP] would cooperate with those who sought to defeat the Conservative Party [CP], the parliamentary leader, Dr. Zach de Beer, said on Friday [15 Jun].

Speaking in the second reading debate of the budget, he said the CP had to be contained until it could be defeated. "...And we will serve that end either directly or by helping others who work effectively towards it."

He had never sought unnecessary conflict with the CP but its tactics in Parliament, and in the political hustings, were bad for human relations. If the CP were to develop strength, it could do very serious damage to the prospects for peace and prosperity.

The DP dismissed the CP's policy of partition out of hand. Dr. H.F. Verwoerd had tried it at the height of his power 30 years ago when circumstances had been far more favourable for partition than now, and it had been a miserable failure. "There is no chance of making it work now, and that is all there is to it," he said.

Buthelezi Says ANC Publishing Smear Pamphlet

MB1406153890 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1500 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has lashed out at a smear pamphlet against his Inkatha organization.

In a statement, he says the pamphlet is being distributed in Soweto, and it calls on people to fight Inkatha.

Buthelezi says the pamphlet is linked to the ANC [African National Congress] because of the frequent use of references to the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Buthelezi has called on the ANC to disassociate itself from the pamphlet and from the violence advocated in it.

Mozambicans Release South African Civilians

*MB1506062390 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0543 GMT 15 Jun 90*

[Text] Johannesburg June 15 SAPA—The Muller family of East London, who had been held in Mozambique by the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] movement since April, have been released and taken to safety by the South African Defence Force, SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reports.

Mr. David Muller, his wife, Sandy, and their two children, eight-year-old Tammy and five-year-old Seth were taken prisoner on April 28 after their yacht, Arwen, had run aground near Ponta Sebastiao.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs, said the family had been airlifted to the SAS [South African Ship] Tafelberg off the Mozambique coast by Air Force helicopter.

He said the ship was on its way back to South Africa and that the family was expected to arrive in East London on Sunday [17 June].

Pik Botha Thanks Chissano, Renamo

*MB1506061890 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0450 GMT 15 Jun 90*

[Text] Pretoria June 15 SAPA—Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha has thanked the Mozambican Government and the rebel Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] movement for their cooperation in ensuring the safe return of a South African family captured by the rebels in April.

Mr. David Muller, his wife Sandy and their two children Tammy, 8, and Seth, 5, have been in the rebels' hands since they were captured on April 28 at Ponta Sebastiao, Imhambane Province, when their yacht ran aground.

Mozambican President Joachim Chissano had assured Pretoria military operations against Renamo would be suspended in the region where the Mullers were being held, Mr. Botha said in a statement on Friday [15 June].

"Following agreement from Renamo that the family would be released, the question arose as to how this could be effected in view of the serious problems facing such an action."

"It was deemed too risky to attempt the operation by land or by air and as a result it was decided that the safest mode of operation would be via the open sea," Mr. Botha said.

President Chissano had agreed to allow the SAS [South African Ship] Tafelberg to enter Mozambican waters. The vessel would carry two helicopters.

"I wish, on behalf of the South African Government, to express my most sincere appreciation to President Chissano for his unreserved co-operation."

"I also wish to thank the leader of Renamo for the assurance given that the well being of the Muller family would be seen to," Mr. Botha said.

National Police Liason Issues Unrest Report

*MB1506103090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1023 GMT 15 Jun 90*

[Text] Pretoria June 15 SAPA—The following unrest-related incidents were reported during the past 24 hours by SA [South Africa] Police [SAP] liaison in Pretoria:

- At Nonzwakazi (De Aar) a councillor's house was extensively damaged when a group of blacks set it alight.
- At Khutsong (Oberholzer) police arrested six black men on a charge of intimidation after they had allegedly intimidated other blacks.
- At Mataleng (Barkly West) police members and vehicles were stoned on a number of occasions. One policeman was slightly injured when struck by a stone. A youth was arrested.
- At Botlokong (Bethlehem) youths threw stones and petrol-bombs at private dwellings, causing extensive damage. A youth was arrested.
- At Kgotsong (Bothaville) a group of black youths threw stones and petrol-bombs at police vehicles. The group was dispersed with rubber bullets. Three men were arrested.
- At Daveyton (Benoni) a group of blacks stoned a meat delivery vehicle and stole the contents.
- At Sebokeng, near Vanderbijlpark, a group of blacks stoned a police vehicle, causing extensive damage and slightly injuring one SAP member.
- At Umbumbulu police station (kwaZulu), the police station was attacked by unknown persons. Hand-grenades were thrown at the building and shots fired (AK-47). No-one was injured and damage to the building was slight.

Soweto, Johannesburg Committees Meet on Future

*MB1406145690 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1430 GMT 14 Jun 90*

[Text] Johannesburg June 14 SAPA—In a major breakthrough, the Soweto Peoples Delegation (SPD) held a meeting with the Johannesburg City Councils (JCC) Management Committee on Thursday morning to discuss the joint future of Johannesburg and Soweto.

As senior JCC committee members, Mr. Ian Davidson and Mrs. Marietta Marx, did not have a mandate to take decisions, the SPD delegation merely tabled a report on the Soweto rent boycott for consideration at the next city council meeting, a statement by the Soweto group said.

The Soweto civic organisation presented a five-point memorandum in which the Johannesburg council was asked to:

- Publicity commit itself to the unification of Soweto and Johannesburg;
- Publicity commit itself to five policy principles regarding the rent boycott in Soweto;
- State its intentions with regard to the new local government guidelines announced by Minister Hermus Kriel;
- Publicly call for and use its influence to end harassment of Soweto residents through the eviction of people and the demolition of their homes; and
- Agree to become a member of the Soweto Joint Financial Adjustment Committee, which was set up by the Transvaal Provincial Administration and is chaired by the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

An invitation was also extended to Johannesburg city councillors to undertake a tour of the sprawling township.

Prison Services To Receive 'Massive Pay Hike'

MB1406085890 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0700 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] A massive pay hike has been announced for the prison services. In the wake of increases announced for the police force, the prison workers are to get pay increases of up to 79 percent. The increases come into effect next month.

Increases for permanent force members of the defence force are also reportedly in the pipeline. The cash boost for members of the police, prison services, and defense force are aimed at stemming the flood of resignations from disgruntled civil servants.

Statistical Services Note Black Labor Figures

MB1506085690 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 0500 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] Official figures indicate that in March 750,000, or 11 percent, of economically active black people were unemployed, an increase of 0.3 percent on the previous month.

The Central Statistical Services said it had been estimated that in March 6.1 million blacks were economically active, 10,000 more than in the previous month.

The percentage of unemployed in cities for March was 14.9; 8.3 percent of black people living in towns and 8.6 percent of rural blacks were unemployed.

The figures included the self-governing territories.

14 June Press Review on Current Problems, Issues

MB1406112090

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

Mandela Tries 'Moral Blackmail' on European Leaders—"In his 'repudiating Pretoria' act, Mr. Mandela

tries some moral blackmail: Either European leaders, businessmen and bankers agree with him that sanctions must stay, or they are supporting the 'White supremacists,' declares Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 13 June in its page 6 editorial. "Mr. Mandela has an ally in West German Foreign Minister, Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who has been one of Pretoria's worst enemies, and seemingly still is despite Mr. De Klerk's reforms." But "West German bankers and industrialists say the time has come for sport and cultural boycotts to be lifted as a first step in ending sanctions." THE CITIZEN also points out Mandela said in the FRG: "'What right has anyone to say (to us) that sanctions are not good for you. You have no legal or political right.' Strange, isn't it? Nobody must tell Mandela and Co. what to do, but Mandela and Co. feel they have every right to tell the West Germans and others what to do."

THE STAR

Mandela's Sanctions Stance 'Wrong'—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 14 June in a page 14 editorial notes Mandela's visit to Europe to urge the maintenance of sanctions, saying sanctions "reduce the possibility of everyone eating. They do not, for a moment, deter the right wing from agitating; they simply reduce the power of those who would rout the right wing. Continuing sanctions will nourish violence—and scorch the earth. Mr. Mandela is wrong. We hope he realises it sooner rather than later."

BUSINESS DAY

Call To Extend Police Training—"The government's decision to expand the police force and to improve conditions of service addresses, somewhat belatedly, a range of problems that are both social and political but the undertaking has a high probability of failure unless certain additional conditions are fulfilled," remarks Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 14 June in a page 6 editorial. These include training, adjusting the law, and making the police force "visibly representative of the population as a whole." "It is better to extend the training period, and to slow the intake, than to send half-trained louts into the streets with guns and batons, armed with the authority of the law, to throw their weight around. This strikes at the root of the South African problem because it assumes that the law itself is just."

CAPE TIMES

Lifting Emergency Shows Returning Confidence—A page 4 editorial in Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 8 June hails the decision to lift the state of emergency is welcome "as a sign of returning confidence and, indeed, of eagerness to complete the so-called normalization of political life and move ahead to the next phase of talks about talks." In his "readiness" to implement the joint recommendations flowing from the Groote Schuur meeting, President de Klerk has "placed the onus squarely on the ANC [African National Congress] to do likewise or else be seen to be dragging their heels. At a time when lesser spirits are filled

with apprehension, President de Klerk's calm assurance strikes exactly the right note."

Mandela Must Match De Klerk Pace—President de Klerk has "gone almost all the way" to meet the Harare pre-conditions for negotiation, asserts an item on page 6 in the 11 June edition. Even though the Internal Security Act remains in force the ANC is "hardly in a strong position to insist on the repeal of this infamous law—as long as its 'armed struggle' is to continue." "There is no longer any justification whatsoever for violence to achieve political ends. Unless the ANC matches President De Klerk's pace and plays its part in creating a climate of trust and confidence the chances of a negotiated accord will fade."

Warning Against Services Boycotts—A second editorial on the same page states: "If the ANC believes it will be playing a major, possibly dominant, role in government a few years from now, it would do well to heed the warning voiced by Mr. Robin Carlisle, MP for Wynberg, Parliament last week. Mr. Carlisle expressed concern over the widespread rents and services boycotts in black communities and said that if people continued to break their social contracts in this manner organisations with majority support could inherit a 'wasteland'." The schools boycott which continues in spite of efforts to bring it to an end, is "ample proof that some campaigns are easier to set in motion than they are to stop."

PAC's 'Softened' Negotiations Stance Welcome—The 12 June edition in a page 4 editorial welcomes the Pan-Africanist Congress' [PAC] "softened" attitude toward negotiations "acknowledging that the broad liberation movement has failed to overthrow the state by violence and that talks are inevitable." Yet "there is considerable tension in practice between the PAC's avowed non-racialism and its basic emotional dynamic as a black nationalist organisation. Has the PAC leadership yet disavowed the slogan 'One settler, one bullet' which some of its followers proclaim?"

Terreblanche, Marais Address Republic Day Rally
MB3105171190 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1701 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Johannesburg May 31 SAPA—A former senior SA Police [SAP] officer, Col. Servaas de Wet, was appointed commandant-general of the "Boere Commandoes" at a joint AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] and HNP [Reformed National Party] Republic Day celebration in Johannesburg on Thursday.

Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging leader Mr. Eugene Terreblanche made the announcement and told the few hundred people at the gathering Col. de Wet was one of the best militarists in SA.

After the announcement, Col. de Wet said he was prepared to continue the Afrikaner struggle for freedom and pay the highest price. He retired in June 1989 as SAP divisional

commander for Krugersdorp. He was previously SAP district commandant in Cape Town and Windhoek

The Boer Commandoes were separate from any political party or organisation and would be based on the old Boer war commando system, he said.

Earlier, the gathering heard an emotive and poetic Mr. Terreblanche warn of a demonstration of force on December 16 (Day of the Covenant) that "would make Magnus (Defence Minister Magnus Malan) catch his breath. The AWB commandoes have already shown in Welkom what they are prepared to do."

Mr. Terreblanche was greeted on his arrival at the gathering with a strong Aquila (AWB armed wing) bodyguard, who cordoned off his car with their batons. The khaki-clad armed men had earlier demonstrated a baton charge and manoeuvres to protect their leaders from attack.

Referring to the Boer War, Mr. Terreblanche said no people on earth had ever paid for their land with as many women and children as the Afrikaners. "If we don't stand firm, this will be the last Republic Day and strange black hands will take the largest share out of the basket. Tambo and Mandela (ANC president and deputy president) aren't interested in power sharing or the protection of minority rights."

"They want war. We will give it to them and chase them...back to the homelands. War is the only answer for such people. There are only winners or losers."

Mr. Terreblanche said he had told State President F.W. de Klerk if he led South Africa down the same path as Namibia, then the "AWB will make war that night."

He said the Democratic Party had asked the government to ban the AWB and unban the ANC and the SACP [South African Communist Party Party]: "The communists with their hammer and sickle, the sign of satan, who now walk with their banners from the innermost core of hell through Christian towns. An excited woman in the audience held her gun high as the AWB leader said "we will never surrender our weapons."

Mr. Terreblanche mourned the division of the Afrikaner right-wing. "The CP [Conservative Party] must beware if they intrude on AWB territory, like in Welkom, where (Blanke Veiligheidsbeweging) leader Hennie Muller called on Inkatha for help when the AWB were preparing to defend whites."

Shouts of "hang Mandela" and loud racist jibes from the audience punctuated Mr. Terreblanche's speech.

A visibly nervous HNP leader Mr. Jaap Marais echoed the white supremacist sentiments of the AWB leader.

He said his message to Mr. Mandela was to leave the white man's property alone. "We earned it, not through foreign loans but through hard work."

"We're not prepared to be pushed into a Third World community the way the government wants. The blacks are Third World."

"There is a deep valley between the races that no-one can cross."

Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Treurnicht Statement

MB2705175590 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1710 GMT 27 May 90

[SAPA PR wire service; issued by: the chief minister's office, Ulundi]

[Text] Sunday, May 27 [dateline as received] In the SUNDAY TIMES today Dr. Treurnicht is reported to have, as the SUNDAY TIMES put it, "held out an olive branch to kwaZulu chief minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, calling on the Inkatha leader 'to join us standing strong against ANC [African National Congress] intimidation.'"

I dearly wish Dr. Treurnicht could stand with me to eliminate intimidation in politics. He would then have to do the only thing that can possibly be done to ensure that peace, stability and prosperity characterises the future—ensuring that the 1912 aims and objectives of the African National Congress are actually put into practice and form the basis of much of the legislation which will govern a future democratic and prosperous South Africa.

I call on Dr. Treurnicht—and all white political leaders—to work with me so to order South African politics and so to conduct ourselves in it, that the process already started to move the ANC-SACP-UDF-COSATU [Communist Party-United Democratic Front-Congress of South African Trade Unions] alliance away from its mistaken programmes of violence, succeeds in encouraging the first if somewhat ambiguous steps of the ANC-SACP-UDF-COSATU alliance towards non-violent politics.

All leaders should attempt to ensure that the ANC-SACP-UDF-COSATU alliance joins the rest of us in centre-stage political negotiations about the future of South Africa. The ANC-SACP-UDF-COSATU alliance can now possibly be encouraged to go on from its first beginnings to engage in an historically important programme of dropping its hitherto offensive and divisive programmes of violence. It is moving step by step to become more acceptable within the South African family of political forces which are busy shaping the new South Africa.

Inkatha was established to uphold the then under siege original aims and objectives and values, of the black struggle for liberation.

Any disputes which exist between the ANC-SACP-UDF-COSATU alliance and Inkatha are more disputes about tactics and strategies and means to ends, than they are about aims and objectives. Together with Dr. Treurnicht I reject the politics of intimidation and

violence, but together with the ANC-SACP-UDF-COSATU alliance I want a multi-party, non-racial and open democracy in which all will be free and equal before the law and the constitution.

Any disputes that there are between black political parties will be settled by the relevant leaders and organisations within the framework of black political approaches to generating the kind of black unity which will ensure that the politics of negotiations gets off the ground.

Inkatha's members and followers have suffered very grievously in the face of violent intimidation from the ANC-SACP-UDF-COSATU alliance. The ANC and its SACP, UDF and COSATU fellow travellers have a great, great deal to answer for. But in a future South Africa, there will not be any Nuremberg-type trials, there will not be recrimination and there will not be the living on of vicious political grudges because the new South Africa will be a place of reconciliation created by a reconciled South Africa populations.

I regard Mr. F.W. de Klerk in the same light as Dr. Nelson Mandela regards him—a sincere, honest and determined, African state President, who is genuine in his attempts to bring about a reconciled South Africa. I invite Dr. Treurnicht to join the mainstream of South African politics and to ensure that he has a place in centre-stage politics by also working for total equality for all the people of South Africa in the land of their birth.

It is in this equality that the Afrikaners' future can be preserved. It is in striving for this equality that I will be able to make successful representations for the kind of minority group protection which Afrikaners in fact now so desperately need to allay their fears about the future.

Mr. F.W. de Klerk has taken historically important steps which will benefit Afrikanerdom more than any steps could do which are taken in order to provide Afrikaners with some kind of political exclusivity.

Now is the time for reconciliation. I now ask Dr. Treurnicht to look through everything I have ever said about violence and revolution. He will find that I have rejected violence and revolution throughout my political life. I have condemned the folly of misconceived tactics and strategies and ill-conceived means to noble ends. I have, however never, ever once called any revolutionary or insurgent a terrorist. There are misguided South Africans using tragically wrong means to ends, but they are South Africans. They are Dr. Treurnicht's compatriots, his fellow South Africans, his neighbours of the future, and I remind Dr. Treurnicht of what good neighbourliness should actually mean to a Christian.

There will be a reconciled South Africa and members of the ANC will sit down at the same political table as members of Inkatha, members of the National Party, and hopefully—if we really are successful—with members of the Conservative Party. We ask Dr. Treurnicht not to endorse himself out of politics because of doing so

he will endorse Conservative Party members out of being relevant to the process of shaping the land of their birth.

Buthelezi Criticizes Sanctions, Armed Struggle

*MB2905180090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1722 GMT 29 May 90*

[Text] Ulundi, May 29, SAPA—Kwazulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Tuesday [29 May] told the United States's former UN ambassador, Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick, that continued support for the armed struggle and the economic and diplomatic isolation of South Africa were now totally unjustified.

Support for organisations which used violence for political purposes had become a virtual growth industry in Europe and North America, he said.

Now that the politics of negotiation could be made a reality, however, this whole growth industry was caught doing the wrong thing.

Mr. Buthelezi claimed the armed struggle had in practice been turned from one which struck at South African military targets into a struggle against all the ANC's [African National Congress] political opponents. Because of events in other parts of southern Africa there was an unrealistic belief that the ANC would return to become SA's [South Africa] legitimate government. The ANC largely behaved as though this was how it saw itself.

While the ANC said formally that all parties must be represented at the negotiating table, in reality it wanted all other black parties to sit behind it—or act through it—and agree with what it said or did.

The Inkatha president said he had repeatedly held out the hand of friendship to Mr. Nelson Mandela and again invited the ANC deputy president to sit down and talk to him.

Mrs. Kirkpatrick, now a syndicated WASHINGTON POST columnist and director of foreign studies at the American Enterprise Institute, was accompanied on her visit to Chief Buthelezi by Mr. Kenneth Adelman, director of the Washington office of the Institute for Contemporary Studies.

Commentary Criticizes ANC Statements on Inkatha

*MB3105163590 Durban ILANGA in Zulu
24-26 May 90 p 7*

[From "Comment and Opinion": "Double-Speak: Another Way of Taking Power"—article published in English]

[Text] Inkatha is not the enemy. So says ANC [African National Congress] Deputy President Dr. Nelson Mandela. Inkatha will be wiped out. So says Mr. Harry Gwala, Midlands leaders of the ANC. Inkatha President Dr M. G. Buthelezi will be killed by the ANC...not in the physical sense, you understand, but politically. So says Mr. Terror Lekota, ANC spokesman and leader in the southern part of Natal.

All the above statements have been made recently, since the unbanning of the ANC. There are those who smell a power struggle hidden behind these seemingly contradictory statements. There is truth in that, but that tells only part of the story.

Decades in exile as a result of the Government's banning actions have taught the ANC the art of hiding its real intentions behind a facade of sweet talk.

While the Mandelas and junior Mbekis dazzle the audiences with clever and beguiling wordcraft, nastiness is plotted and perpetrated in dark corners away from the public eye.

Dr. Mandela speaks sweetly about Inkatha. When he agrees to appear on a public platform with the movement's leader, his colleagues almost "throttle" him...his words.

ANC allies, the UDF [United Democratic Front] and COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Union], engage the movement in peace talks, while detailed plans are forged in the dark of night to let loose the dogs of war.

Let us have a closer look at what actually happens on the ground to verify this statement.

It is well known that Inkatha has for months been holding high-level peace talks with the UDF and COSATU. But behind the scenes other ANC formations have been briefed in detail on how to use the peace process to destroy Inkatha.

One document in which this was codified was titled "Guidelines for Comrades" and addressed itself specifically to the UDF/COSATU/Inkatha peace talks. Here are some of the things said in the document:

"The peace talks between the democratic forces and the reactionary Inkatha movement has(sic) the potential to once and for all establish the UDF/COSATU alliance as the primary force in Natal."

To counter perceptions in the media that the UDF/COSATU had been forced to the conference table and was thus "selling out," the guidelines offer the young comrades perspective:

"It should be emphasized that talk is just another way of taking power. It cannot be expected of the comrades to understand this new international tendency for peace and that is why these talks should be explained as simply as possible.

"They should be told that the UDF/COSATU alliance has identified talks as a more effective strategy and in this case also has the support of our movement. This is just another form of onslaught against Inkatha. If the situation demands it, it can also be said that even the Soviets support such moves."

The guidelines then go on to instruct comrades in detail how to engage Inkatha in talks at local level and then use "selective" violence against those who "do not cooperate as this will subtly encourage those who listen to give us their full cooperation."

This is exactly what is happening on the ground. ANC leader Walter Sisulu recently provided an interest perspective to these guidelines.

In a recent article in NEW NATION he wrote as follows:

"In our struggle we can no longer afford to have grey undefined areas. Now, more than ever before, it is the people or the regime."

Those who did not join "the people" (buzz word for the ANC) would "inevitably gravitate towards the Government and all it represents—and are, therefore, legitimate targets for the corrective ministrations of the young lions."

(Parenthetically, it is worth noting that Inkatha is not alone in being singled out as a "legitimate" ANC target. Attacks on the PAC/AZAPO [Pan-Africanist Congress/Azanian People's Organization]/Black Consciousness formations continue apace. While Inkatha and these movements have fundamental political differences, there has never been a single case of violence between them.)

All the indications are there that those who represent the darker side of the ANC believe that there can be no talk with the South African Government until Inkatha has been destroyed completely.

Latest salvo in this war on Inkatha is the campaign to disband the kwaZulu Police. While the one side has seen to the murder and intimidation of many policemen, the other has now launched a campaign to have the force "disarmed."

Reporters of the main media glibly refer to this campaign as one aimed as "disarming" Inkatha. Sordid as this is, the editors allow it to go unchallenged.

We are told that the author of the campaign is the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and that it will stage a programme of labour disruption "in protest against the involvement of the kwaZulu Police in strife-torn Natal townships." This week-long stay-away would be preceded by "nationwide mass action."

Even spokesmen for the Democratic Party, we are told, support the campaign. The irony that they sit in the same Parliament that passed the legislation formally constituting the kwaZulu Police seems to escape them.

And let there be no doubt about the consequences. If and when the "nationwide mass action" takes place, it will unleash a fresh wave of violence likely to dwarf anything that has happened to date.

The same 'Terror' Lekota who said the ANC would "kill" Dr. Buthelezi had this to say in a Sunday newspaper. It was, he said, the view of the ANC that the Government had "created a monster" by providing Chief Buthelezi with a police force. It was now up to the Government to "disarm" him so that "people" may engage in "open political activity."

'Terror' Lekota speaks for the same ANC that has, quite recently, called for:

—the murder of Dr. Buthelezi;
—the murder of Inkatha Central Committee members;
—the assassination of policemen and "collaborators."

Mandela Attacks Malan, Mangope in 26 May Address

MB2705090290 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR
in English 27 May 90 p 1

[Report by Sefako Nyaka]

[Text] In his hardest-hitting public speech to date ANC [African National Congress] deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday attacked Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope at a packed rally at the Atteridgeville Super Stadium.

Accusing General Malan of turning a blind eye to the massacre of unarmed blacks by the country's security forces, Mr. Mandela said it was not surprising that the Defence Minister was considered unfit to form part of the Government delegation that met the ANC recently.

Mr. Mandela called on Mr. Mangope to remember what happened to German dictator Adolf Hitler who, after conquering Europe and North Africa, was brought to his knees "by the power of the masses."

He called for discipline and tolerance towards people with different views.

Those who regarded themselves as committed members of the ANC must behave with the dignity befitting a freedom fighter.

He said the strength of one political organisation should not be seen as a threat to other apartheid forces.

"There is a tendency for some organisations to be bitter and hostile against any organisation that appears to the public to be very strong.

"The strength of one political organisation should be regarded as an asset by the entire liberation movement," Mr. Mandela said.

He said the ANC was addressing the question of political unity with other political organisations, the labour movement and homeland leaders.

"Those organisations that rush to the press to publicise differences of principles and strategies are harming the freedom struggle.

"They create the perception that they have not even started to grasp the most elementary principles of struggle.

"I sincerely hope that those who are simply too ready to criticise other political organisations while they sit down folding arms must note that our patience is not likely to last forever.

"We have conducted in this country an armed struggle. We have mounted massive campaigns. But there are

organisations which have got imaginary armies which have never conducted a single mass struggle in this country. They are criticising us for seeking peace, for talking to the Government in order that we should stop slaughtering one another, in order that we should live in peace in this country."

Comments on Mandela's Atteridgeville Address

*MB2705081090 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES
in English 27 May 90 p 2*

[Text] ANC [African National Congress] leader Nelson Mandela yesterday endorsed the armed struggle as a valid means of forcing the South African Government—which he 'labelled "the enemy"—to the negotiating table.

The ANC deputy president was speaking to more than 50,000 singing, chanting and dancing supporters at the Super Stadium rally in Atteridgeville, west of Pretoria, in the shadow of a hillside with "ANC Lives" emblazoned in white painted stones.

In a hard-hitting speech that reinforced Friday's [25 May] commitment to violence from the ANC's external headquarters in Lusaka, Mr. Mandela said the Government had to "meet the minimum demands set out in the Harare Declaration" if it wanted the ANC to negotiate.

"Meanwhile, the struggle continues," he said—defining "the struggle" as "the campaign for the internationalisation of the present racially-based Government, the mobilisation of the masses against oppression, and the armed struggle".

Mr. Mandela took the opportunity to hit back at Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan who had publicly attacked him for breaching the agreement reached with the Government at Groote Schuur.

"The Groote Schuur meeting was not negotiations," he said. "That meeting was called to inform the Government what the ANC sees as obstacles to negotiations.

"Without the removal of the obstacles we have identified, there is no chance of us sitting down for real negotiations with the National Party.

"It must be realised that we cannot continue to talk while you, the people we represent, are being killed."

Mr. Mandela also hit out at "apologist" or the South African Government.

"It was us who campaigned for sanctions against apartheid. How can it now be the Government which determines when sanctions will be lifted?"

He called for unity between the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress, at the same time warning the Conservative Party [CP] that it would "never succeed".

Directly addressing CP leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht, whom he labelled "the Prophet of Doom," he said: "We have defeated greater men than you. You will also be defeated."

ANC Suggests 'Guerrillas' Merge With SADF

*MB2705082590 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES
in English 27 May 90 p 2*

[By Melinda Ham]

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] said yesterday its guerrillas should be integrated into the white-led South African Defence Force [SADF].

A ranking officer in the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, said in Lusaka that officers from the warring armies should be placed in joint control of security forces in a transition to multi-party elections.

Mr. Edwin Mabitse, who fought against South African troops in southern Angola in the 1980s, was addressing former and active SADF officers on the fourth day of an unprecedented conference with the ANC in the Zambian capital.

The South African team comprises serving middlerank officers, military men from the nominally independent black homelands of Ciskei, Transkei and Venda, anti-draft campaigners, academics, and church leaders.

The ANC delegation, including field commanders, is being led by military chief Joe Modise.

Mr. Mabitse, outlining what the ANC sought from an interim political settlement with Pretoria, said guerrilla commanders should be placed alongside current SADF officers in national and regional command structures.

There was no immediate reaction to the proposal from the visiting South Africans, who were invited to discuss future national security arrangements with the ANC.

The conference ends today.

ANC's Suttner Interviewed on Envisaged Assembly

MB0806131190 Johannesburg NEW NATION in English 8 Jun 90 p 7

[Interview with Penuell Madlina of the ANC legal department, by Raymond Suttner, ANC political education department head; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Suttner] People are concerned about the process of the Harare Declaration. As I understand it, what has happened now, is there have been discussions to remove obstacles. When these are removed, the next phase will be to negotiate a suspension of hostilities?

[Madlina] Yes, yes.

[Suttner] Now, a lot of people are curious about the demand for a constituent assembly [CA]. It doesn't appear in the Harare Declaration. Would you like to comment on this?

[Madlina] In fact the Harare Declaration, though not mentioning the CA specifically or by name, says that we need to work out a democratic mechanism which will

give our country a new constitution. It talks about a need for an elected mechanism. Needless to say, that is a CA.

There was a particular reason why we thought we should not mention it specifically. I remember when we were drafting that document, the President O.R. Tambo said he didn't think mentioning it specifically would be right, because there are other viewpoints, you know, coming from the other people who wanted a South African document rather than an ANC [African National Congress] position.

We wanted a document that would go through as a document sponsored by the people of South Africa rather than by a single organisation.

Of course the organisations that sponsored the document were the MDM [Mass Democratic Movement] together with ANC, so that therefore you could ask the question "why didn't you mention it specifically?"

But still we thought we would not be able to sell it when we were approaching other countries, that we thought we could work with to pilot the whole project.

But the policy of the ANC is that the whole process of negotiation should lead to the election of a constituent assembly which will work out a constitution for our country.

[Suttner] Would you say that the experience of processes in other countries influenced our approach?

[Madlina] You see, we have been asked that question, and we have been given the examples of countries where constitutions were negotiated and eventually knocked together, for instance, the example of Zimbabwe, where the whole Lancaster House process, ended, or rather, culminated in the 1980 Zimbabwe Independence Constitution.

We do not think that for our purpose that would be appropriate, because it would entail negotiations between the apartheid regime and all those who lay claim to a good and sound following on the ground.

We would like our people to be involved in the process of constitution making. Part of the process of course, would entail the election of the CA.

In other words, our own people, the masses, should begin to grapple with the concepts involved in the debate, so that by the time the elections for the CA took place, people would know what work it would do. In other words, there would be an agency of the people to give us a new constitution, rather than if we sat down with the government to knock together a constitution and then say "here we are, with your constitution."

It must be theirs even in terms of psychological preparedness for elections.

In our perspective, the whole thing starts from the Freedom Charter, it goes through draft constitutional guidelines, through the Harare Declaration, right up to the election of the CA itself. It's a long process, a continuum.

[Suttner] That's very interesting. I was going to ask whether there wasn't a very close connection between popularising and getting a response to the ANC constitutional guidelines, and the process of the CA, because the CA would presumably be a process of implementing what the people want from the guidelines?

[Madlina] Right. Right.

[Suttner] With modification, obviously?

[Madlina] Right. It's the culmination of a long process.

And of course now that the ANC has been unbanned, we should, in my opinion, utilise the political space that we have gained. In other words, we see the election of the CA itself not only as a culmination of this process, but also as a victory of the struggle itself.

We cannot win it otherwise. The regime is not going to concede to it. It has a notion, and that is that those who lay claim to representing a significant constituency would sit down with it and work out a constitution.

I have the impression that they have since discarded their idea of a national council or a national statutory council, as it used to be called. Or the so called Great Indaba. They are not even longer referring to it. It had all sorts of flaws, which were rather too glaring for us to ignore them. And they seem to have discarded the idea, but they are still peddling the notion of, sitting together with, say the ANC, the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], Inkatha and so on to work out a constitution.

We say that the people must be involved in the process.

They must elect those they have absolute faith in, in terms of giving us a new constitution. In that way, our people would have given their imprimatur, their stamp, to the constitution. You know, we have a very curious tradition in terms of giving ourselves a constitution in this country. All along, the constitutions have come from above, right up to the 1983 constitution, Act 110 of 1983, the current constitution.

For a change, the constitution must come from the bottom. Our people must tell those who actually think they are fit enough to lead us what type of constitution they want.

The people must tell us. So, part of the process, therefore, involves mass political education about these very concepts that are being used in the debate.

And of course, I must say, it's late, we should have started long ago but it's never too late. Of course, our conditions have contributed towards this delay.

We are at the point of trying to set up an appropriate organ called the ANC's Constitutional Committee, which is going to be broader than the one that we had in Lusaka.

We have, already selected people who are going to participate in its work.

Very soon the debate will begin in earnest, and we hope that by the time proper negotiations get off the ground, our people will know what these concepts entail, and they will be able to make informed choices.

[Suttner] Now, with regard to this question of explaining to the people. Do you think that the present state monopoly on broadcasting, and the commercial press, producing predominantly anti-ANC positions, would be a hindrance? Do we not have to do something about breaking that in the process of, when there is an interim government, or in fact now?

[Madlina] In fact, we have to advance that now. We, fortunately, have already, on the ground, the alternative press. In fact, I would be happier if it is not called the alternative press, but progressive, and....

[Suttner] Popular...?

[Madlina] Right, people's press. It is emerging, and there are already papers which are prepared to carry our position, and I'm sure the commercial press itself, when it realises the stiff competition that will emerge, will eventually look in our direction.

I mean our ideal serves, and they will carry our attitudes, I'm sure. The SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] itself, is undergoing a metamorphosis of some sort, and it is no longer scowling at us when it sees us. It seeks interviews with us, and so on, and so the situation isn't as bad as it was five, six years ago, but of course it still leaves a lot to be desired.

A breakthrough will be made, and of course the ANC itself will set up its own small press, and begin to muscle into the market, and so on, and that way we will be able to put forward our own ideas.

Hopefully, the regime will realise that it has a contribution to make to the debate by allowing us to feature every now and then on the telly and the radios.

I'm just hoping that they will realise that sooner than later, because if they try to stifle the popular voice, they will have only themselves to blame because it will seep through in many ways.

[Suttner] Just one other thing. How do you understand the concept and the role of the interim government?

[Madlina] That's a very interesting question. First and foremost, let us reject this question, this notion that there already is, on one ground, this thing, an interim government.

That is nonsense, as far as I am concerned. The apartheid regime still is the apartheid regime. It cannot, by any stretch of the imagination be regarded as "the transitional government." It's not. I mean, right now, we are saddled with a whites-only government. I am not talking about the farcical structures that underpin the

other two houses of the tricameral parliament. No. But, you see, our notion of this is that it will come about as a result of negotiation itself.

In other words, we envisage that negotiation will reach a point where the interim government, par excellence, becomes the most logical thing to have in the country, where the current order of things becomes unacceptable even to them. At that moment, you would actually be finding yourselves in conditions where they would draw us in, and of course, as we say in the Harare Declaration, it must govern the country, it must supervise the whole process and oversee the whole transition.

[Suttner] So, it doesn't have a longer term than that?

[Madlina] No.

Bophuthatswana Leader Responds to Mandela Attack

MB2905094990 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0858 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] Mabopane May 29 SAPA—Nelson Mandela's stinging attack on Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope at the Pretoria rally at the weekend is unlikely to affect the homelands effort to meet the ANC [African National Congress].

In reaction to Mr. Mandela's well-publicised tongue-lashing against President Mangope, the office of the president in Mmabatho said in a statement:

"In the new spirit of peace, negotiation and reconciliation which prevails in South Africa, the attack by Dr. Mandela on President Mangope did cause some surprise.

"We are a country which has an open door policy, and an attitude of peace, goodwill, harmony and good relationship with our neighbours and organisations of goodwill who are working towards stability and freedom in the subcontinent."

Speaking to an estimated 60,000 people in Atteridgeville at the weekend, Mr. Mandela warned President Mangope to stop imposing his will on "the people."

He called on Mr. Mangope to remember the German dictator, Adolf Hitler, who was defeated by the power of the masses.

Mr. Mandela said: "Mangope must take care. He is less than a ~~paper~~ tiger."

The Bophuthatswana government statement was released on behalf of the president by the minister of state affairs, Mr. Rowan Cronje, who is on a committee appointed by President Mangope to initiate discussion with the ANC and other extra-parliamentary groupings.

Mangope Opens Bophuthatswana Parliament 29 May
MB2905105990 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1000 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] **Mmabatho May 29 SAPA**—The right constitution for a post-apartheid South Africa must contain peaceful ways to redistribute wealth without killing the goose that lays the golden egg, "that is without nationalisation," the president of Bophuthatswana, Mr. Lucas Mangope, told parliament on Tuesday.

The president was opening the third session of the third National Assembly in Mmabatho, BOPANA news agency reports.

He said the right constitution would work only when the attitudes of all the people were conducive to peaceful co-existence.

"What is not certain is what the post-apartheid South Africa will look like. Apartheid can be repealed, but there are so many sad consequences of apartheid that cannot simply be repealed. Broken family life cannot be remedied by legislation...absence of education and training cannot be remedied by legislation."

Any new constitution would have to accommodate all the people of South Africa.

"It is also true that some people feel that the strength of the black people of South Africa lies in being seen as one total entity. But in reality there has not been any such total merging of the black people and any resolution of the South Africa problem that refuses to recognise this is doomed to failure from the very start, since the greater number of black people remain in the rural tribal areas to this day.

"Utopia may well be one melting pot making a composite black entity but the reality of Africa, South Africa included, is that Africa and African states are made up of different nations and there has been enough bloodshed to attest to this," said the president.

He said back in 1974, he had spoken of several ties which would include Bophuthatswana as well as other states of southern Africa.

"It may well be that we may become one day part of a large southern African federation, but we will not lose what we have worked for and we will simply not sit back to allow ourselves to be destroyed or swallowed up," he added.

*** AWB Commandos Training for War**

*** Training Described**

34000682A Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR
in English 13 May 90 pp 1, 5

[Article by Esmare van der Merwe: "ET's Army in on the March"]

[Text] On a farm outside Ventersdorp in the Western Transvaal the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging is preparing for war.

Khaki-clad men and women gather Saturday after Saturday to train for the day when the Nationalists hand over power.

For then they will defend what they demand as their own with force.

Selected journalists were yesterday allowed into the heart of AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] country: a well-camouflaged spot, known as the Feester-rein, where the commandos are taught to shoot.

They come from afar—Natal, the Cape, the Free State, Northern Transvaal, even Namibia.

This is the fourth group of about 300 to undergo training. They go back home to establish more commandos.

Under the watchful eye of AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche, his steely-eyed followers receive intensive training in drill, self-defence and target-shooting.

Afternoons are put aside for theoretical training: how to establish and train a commando; finance and administration.

They bring their own weapons. The women use pistols and shotguns; the men train with heavy-calibre weapons.

Children come along to play in the veld, against the crack of gunfire and the commanding voices of drillmasters in the background.

The guest speaker, Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais, captures the mood of the day.

Known as a "Boer gentleman" who usually confines himself to an analysis of political events, his speech is surprisingly militant.

His message to F. W. de Klerk: "If you sell us out in this illegitimate manner, we will fight." An enthusiastic soldier shouts: "Just give the date!"

Yesterday AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche put his army on public show for the first time.

But it was not without cloak-and-dagger effects.

First came the briefing as a select group of journalists met at the AWB's head office in Ventersdorp. There AWB chief secretary Kays Smit spells out the rules:

No interviews other than with the leader or himself. No pictures of "certain people"—those who fear victimisation by employers, particularly public servants.

He adds confidentially: "It was a helluva fight to get you in." Then commands: "Report the truth."

Mr TerreBlanche's office is carefully decorated—pictures of four legendary Boer generals; the AWB's flag, together with

those of the Republics of the Transvaal and the Free State; the framed letters of Boer martyr Jopie Fourie; a carved wooden clock with the triple-seven emblem.

Coffee, koeksisters and jam tarts are offered. Chief secretary Smit jokes with the subdued press corps: "This is not a funeral, you may laugh. And please, take a look around."

The press contingent follows Mr Smit's Sierra (registration number 777) to the well-camouflaged training spot called Feesterrein outside the town. Burly men guard the gate. Colourful red, white and black banners are suspended between kameeldorings.

It all looks rather festive. The braai fires are already being lit. cheerful Boeremusiek blares from powerful loudspeakers.

But the women do not come to exchange recipes; the men are not discussing farming. They are training for war.

Dressed in khaki the women use their own pistols for training and like their male counterparts, do marching drill. Next they go to the rifle-range for target practice.

Mr Smit says the youth also follow courses to prepare them for civil defence.

They first gather for prayers, they sing "Sarie Marais" and "Die Lied van Jong Suid-Africa". They stand to attention to repeat, word for word, the Vow of Blood River.

After a fiery speech from guest speaker, Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais, Mr TerreBlanche walks to the podium. Hysterical cheers of "AWB" and "Eugene" follow.

His speech is short.

"No one may dare to take the land that God gave us. They (the blacks) know very well how to make crosses. And if they make their crosses (in a one man, one vote election) they will take our country away from us."

He says the Boere are preparing to protect their families, their property and their country. If the SAP [South African Police] and SADF [South African Defense Forces] were truly protecting white people, there should be a member on guard at every AWB member's home because "the ANC has said they are going to kill us."

His voice reaches a crescendo: "If they don't protect us, we will do it ourselves. Because we are policemen and soldiers."

He adds: "I say today in this building which my father built: If the Government capitulates, we will refuse to live under an ANC government. That day there will be war. That day we will fight like our forefathers. And we will fight until we win."

Later Mr Smit shows the press around. He willingly answers questions, but refuses to say how many commandos have been formed or how many members the AWB has.

Roughly 12,000 people have been trained on this spot. Another 300 have received their training in Durban, and about 200 more in Uitenhage and Graaff-Reinet.

In January, the AWB had about 300 "burgerraade." These structures, as well as the military wing Aquilla, have been replaced by the commandos.

Durban and the Western Cape are particular growth points. In Durban city alone, Mr Smit says, one burger-raad in January has grown into about 17 commandos.

"The growth is phenomenal. Our membership has more than doubled in a year. Between 60 and 80 percent are young people."

"You will find a broad range of people. Doctors, public servants, teachers, ministers, bank managers."

He stresses that the courses are aimed at self-defence.

"We're not going to go out in the streets and start shooting."

But, he says, the day the Government capitulates it will be another story.

"We will have no choice. We will shoot."

* HNP Leader Comments

34000682B Johannesburg *THE STAR*
in English 14 May 90 p 5

[Article by Esmare van der Merwe, Political Reporter:
"Army Ordered Arms Recall—HNP Leader"]

[Text] Herstigte Nasionale Party [HNP] leader Jaap Marais has revealed that members of SADF [South African Defense Forces] commandos in at least two towns had been instructed to return their weapons.

Speaking at an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) training camp outside Ventersdorp on Saturday, Mr Marais said commando members in Groblersdal and Swartklip had been told to hand back their weapons to regional SADF stations.

Commandos comprise members of the Citizen Force [CF] and are called up regularly for training camps.

Duration

They are attached to their particular commando unit for the duration of their CF training and while they are in the reserve. They are issued weapons on commencement of their first training camp and are not required to return them until they have completed their entire Defence Force service.

The withdrawal of their service weapons has been interpreted as an attempt to disarm whites in the wake of militant threats by right-wing organisations.

Mr Marais told *THE STAR* the official reason given for the return of weapons was that "the ANC [African National Congress] people's army is busy stealing weapons."

He said: "This is nonsense. If it is true arms are being stolen at homes of commando members, it implies our people are so incompetent that the enemy can steal their weapons from right underneath their noses."

AWB leader Eugene TerrBlanche described the recall of weapons as a "motion of no confidence in the soldier."

AWB chief secretary Kays Smit said on Saturday that elections for a "Boerestaat parliament", to have taken place on May 31, had been called off temporarily. He said special Boerestaat identify documents could not be processed in time.

"We announced the elections before F. W. de Klerk's speech on February 2. We did not realise at the time how quickly they were going to start running."

Mr Smit said no new date had been set for the elections, which had been called jointly by the AWB, the Boerestaat Party and the Transvaal Separatists.

*** Slovo, Pahad on Recent Talks With Government**
34000679C Johannesburg *THE NEW NATION*
in English 11-17 May 90 pp 6-7

[Interview with ANC's Aziz Pahad and SACP's Joe Slovo]

[Text] [THE NEW NATION] What is the significance of last week's talks in the context of the overall strategy of the ANC [African National Congress] in achieving majority rule?

[Pahad] Our demand, of course, is that there must be an interim government leading to a constituent assembly. And it is the constituent assembly, based on one person one vote, which must then create the new constitution for SA [South Africa].

So it is important in this sense that the talks have laid the basis for removing the obstacles. And that opens up the possibility of discussing the future SA.

[Slovo] I think, to understand the significance of these talks, we've got to bear in mind what we have said over and over again, that neither this stage nor the subsequent stage of negotiations is a substitute for struggle.

What is happening at the table, we see as part, and I emphasise the word part, of the terrain of struggle. And the strategies which we have publicly committed ourselves to in the past, which has involved armed struggle and ungovernability, have in fact contributed towards bringing about a situation where this additional terrain of struggle became practical.

But even though we have reached that stage we cannot assume that it takes over from every other strategy.

In fact we believe that our clout at the negotiating table depends not upon our own talents and sophistication in putting across our arguments, but upon the continuing pressure from the people.

Of course, in the climate for negotiations, the nature of that pressure needs to be given special attention. Because, obviously, negotiations, when it starts, cannot take place in an atmosphere where the two parties are shooting at one another.

And therefore it is envisaged that once the obstacles are removed, the first issue to be addressed in terms of the Harare Declaration, is for the parties to get together to negotiate some kind of ceasefire.

We believe that it is absolutely vital at the moment that people should not wait for that stage to be reached but should begin to address, very vocally, the issues which will be placed before us at the negotiating table.

In other words, what we will then be discussing is the question of political power—that is our purpose at the negotiating table.

And unless it is clear to the world and to the government that the people are asserting their aspirations for the kind of SA that we want to bring about, we cannot possibly emerge from the negotiating table with any kind of success.

And by this I mean that people should immediately raise their demands for a constituent assembly, demands for votes, demands for land, demands for redistribution of wealth.

[Pahad] We think that, at this stage, more than at any other stage, we must move from this situation of mass mobilisation to proper organisation—the ANC has itself publicly stated that we feel that our restructuring must go at a much faster pace. We are not happy at the level of our own organisational capacity at the moment—we have had a lot of success with mass mobilisation—but in general the actual political organisation at every level is relatively weak.

[Slovo] But I would say that an additional weakness, understandably, is that the focus of the recent period from the masses of the people has been on questions of removal of obstacles and on the day to day things from which they suffer on the ground. There's a need for all of us to inject into those protests an additional element, which is going to become more and more vital as the negotiating process develops, and that is the demand of political power. The demand of political power must loom larger and larger on the agenda of people's actions.

[THE NEW NATION] Does the agreement, on the part of the ANC, to refer the question of political prisoners to a working committee mean that it is prepared to redefine its position on this question?

[Pahad] The important thing about the document is that it says the Namibian example would be taken into consideration. We see that in the Namibian situation, they tried to come up with a very narrow definition—but in the end what emerged was a very broad definition.

We believe that without a broad definition, we will still have literally thousands of people in prison and therefore the obstacles have not been removed.

[Slovo] There is no way this process could proceed if one person of those on death row goes to the gallows.

Everything depends on the definition of a political offence. Once you've defined the political offence, it affects people in jail, people who are facing political trials, the return of exiles—everything.

Because once you have defined the political offence in our terms, as covering all our people who committed offences, or are charged with offences behind which there is a political motivation, then everything else flows from that.

All political trials will stop—all exiles will return—all prisoners will be released.

[THE NEW NATION] What, in practical and concrete terms, does it mean when the ANC says that it will review the question of the armed struggle?

[Slovo] In a way it is consistent with our interpretation of the provisions of the Harare Declaration, which says: remove these obstacles, create this normal political climate and the first step after that will be talks for bringing an end to the hostilities, leading to a ceasefire.

All we've got at the moment is a piece of paper. If, as a result of that piece of paper, the government demonstrates that it is in fact reviewing the obstacles, then we will, in terms of the Harare Declaration, move towards this next stage, which is still not negotiations—but is to discuss how we come to a ceasefire.

[THE NEW NATION] So it is really just a statement of intent?

[Slovo] It is a statement of intent that is consistent with the Harare Declaration.

[THE NEW NATION] Does the clause relating to the lifting of the State of Emergency, which binds the ANC and the government to ending violence, in anyway suggest an acceptance on the part of the ANC that it is partly responsible for the strife in the townships?

[Slovo] We have always committed ourselves to a preference for solving the situation by peaceful means—if it is possible. I believe that the declaration and our commitment on this question goes no further than that. We have undertaken to continue to move towards a situation where it is possible to bring about peaceful negotiations. It does not in any way amount to a concession or an admission that we are responsible for the violence.

I think you'll notice that the preamble talks of ending violence and intimidation "from whatever quarter"—I think that it perhaps does amount to expressing a need on our part to play some role in ending what we call undisciplined violence, although we know that the basic cause of intimidation is the police, the army. There are

instances of intimidation even on our side and although that's not the fundamental content of what we call a situation of violence, this is something that we have to address as well.

But it in no way constitutes any kind of admission that any structure other than the regime is responsible for the violence that the country is experiencing.

[THE NEW NATION] Would it be correct to infer from the Groote Schuur agreement that both parties are now prepared to meet each other half-way?

[Slovo] When parties meet at a negotiating table, they come there with certain positions and they come there with their minds not completely closed to possible concessions on either side.

But from our point of view, there are certain fundamental principles on which there can be no concessions. So there is no abstract formula for all of this.

Negotiation does imply that the possibility of some kind of compromise on certain questions can arise. But that cannot go to the root of our objectives. The one thing on which there cannot be a compromise is on the question of majority rule as we understand it.

* **Contralesa To Help ANC Establish Branches**

*34000679A Johannesburg THE NEW NATION
in English 11-17 May 90 p 3*

[Article: "Contralesa To Help Build ANC"]

[Excerpt] The Natal region of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA [South Africa] (Contralesa) has pledged to help the ANC [African National Congress] establish branches, especially in the rural areas of the region.

This was resolved at the organisation's regional conference in Durban the week-end.

Contralesa also resolved to set up labour, legal, health, education and religion committees.

"The decision to form a labour committee is particularly significant in the light of bantustan leader [Gatsha] Buthelezi's attack on Cosatu," said newly-elected regional publicity officer Siphiwe Thusi.

"Presently people from the villages are being used by the apartheid system with help from the kwaZulu bantustan to divide the oppressed masses. When there are strikes, village people are brought into the cities as scab labour."

The conference also decided to hold seminars to clarify Buthelezi's claims that he was the leader of six million Zulu people.

"Buthelezi is the chief in Mahlabathini of the Buthelezi clan," said Thusi.

"The status he got didn't come from the chiefs in Natal. It was imposed on them by the Pretoria government."

Newly-elected regional office bearers are: Senior Prince Mcwayizeni Zulu as honorary chairperson, chief Elphas Molefe as chairperson, chief Zibusise Mlaba as secretary, chief Albert Shozi as treasurer, Sipho Khumalo as assistant treasurer and Prince Mduduzi Zulu and Alfred Ndlovu as regional organisers. [passage omitted]

*** ANC Launches PWV Branch**

*34000679B Johannesburg THE NEW NATION
in English 11-17 May 90 p 3*

[Article: "ANC Launches PWV Branch"]

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] launched its branch in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) area this week the fourth since last month.

Supporters of the organisation in the region can now become card-carrying members on payment of their R12 membership fee. This can also be paid in instalments.

The PWV's 15-member interim committee will be led by National Union of Mineworkers education secretary Kgalema Motlanthe.

Other members of the interim committee include Cassim Saloojee, Jessie Duarte, Amos Masondo, Naledi Tsiki (released last month from Robben Island), Gregory Malebo, Ike Genu and Titus Mafolo.

According to Motlanthe, the interim committee will embark on a major recruitment drive and anybody over the age of 18 is eligible for membership.

The ANC has also decided to register its colours, logos and symbols as patents to ensure that the manufacture and sale of products associated with the movement is done in consultation with the organisation.

This will also ensure that the ANC gains financially from the marketing of products which have become popular through their association with the movement.

*** COSATU Delivers May Day Message**

*34000680C Johannesburg THE NEW NATION
in English 4-10 May 90*

[Article: "Cosatu Warns It Will Renationalise"]

[Text] COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] has warned that it will renationalise, without compensation, all enterprises that are being sold off to monopoly capital.

This warning was contained in the Cosatu national office-bearers' 1990 May Day message to the federation's more than one million members.

Describing the privatisation of public corporations as theft, the federation said the ruling class was attempting

to prevent a democratic government from having the resources to address poverty caused by decades of apartheid.

"The cost of health, education and transport are already putting these services out of reach of the majority because it is too expensive," Cosatu says in its message.

"Cosatu will oppose all attempts to privatise our assets. Cosatu structures, together with our allies in the democratic movement, must intensify our struggle to prevent privatisation.

"We say that we will renationalise without compensation all companies that have been privatised," the federation's message said. This warning to the government and monopoly capital comes after huge anti-privatisation marches involving members of Cosatu's public sector affiliates.

The May Day message marked the celebration of a concerted struggle which has culminated in the government capitulating in the face of pressure from workers and declaring May 1 a statutory holiday late last year.

This represents a significant retreat on the part of bosses and their government, who even until a few months ago, rejected May 1 as a communist symbol.

But this is not the only historical significance of the 1990 May Day. The 1990 May Day celebrations also mark the unfolding of a new era in the "bitter struggles against apartheid and cheap labour.

"Our own struggles as organised workers under Cosatu, in alliance with millions of youth and students in the UDF (United Democratic Front), combined with the people's alliance of the ANC/SACP [African National Congress/South African Communist Party], have forced the regime into a crisis."

The message said that the unbanning of the ANC and the SACP, along with the release of leaders, among them Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, were a tribute to those struggles.

"The right to celebrate May Day in South Africa is one we have fought many battles for. In spite of attempts by the regime and their capitalist allies to sabotage this struggle, we can proudly say that we have forced them to retreat in the face of our united demand to celebrate May Day on May 1," the message said.

But the challenges ahead demand that workers not only celebrate this victory but also "dwell on major tasks to destroy apartheid".

Repeating its earlier calls, which were also made by other democratic mass formations, Cosatu stressed the need for the intensification of struggles on all fronts.

Once again, it emphasised the importance of mass-based democratic structures that are the foundation stones of "people's democracy". Earlier this year, the federation said in an assessment of the current political climate that

there was a need for an overall programme of action that clearly defined the role and tasks of structures in the consolidation of the liberation movement.

In this context, Cosatu has already developed a National Campaigns Committee. It has also called for a national civic to be built through street and area committees to ensure that power was decentralised to the lowest levels of organisation.

With reference to the way forward for the labour federation, Cosatu's national office-bearers said it was only through the realisation of the principles of "one country one federation" and "one industry one union" that workers could effectively challenge monopoly control over the economy.

The phasing out of Sactu [South African Congress of Trade Unions] is seen as a step towards realising the goal of one trade union federation in the country.

On the question of the anti-LRA [Labor Relations Act] campaign, the message reiterated the federation's key demands over and above the removal of offensive clauses in the law. The right to strike, the inclusion of farm, public sector and domestic workers in the LRA and the right to job security are some of the demands listed in the message.

The federation has also called on its members to make the present LRA unworkable. It has scheduled a LWC [Living Wage Campaign]/anti-LRA conference for May 12 and 13, where it will plan a programme of action.

The period from May 20 to 25 has also been declared a week of action in support of demands around the LRA and the LWC. Protest marches in all industrial areas are also being planned for May 22.

Among the living demands the federation has listed are jobs at a living wage, a 40-hour week, the right to education, training, social security, UIF [expansion unknown] and housing.

Commenting on vigilante and police violence against its members, the federation stated its preparedness to take mass action to defend itself and the people in general in any area, especially in Natal.

"We call on our members in all areas and every workplace to set up defence committees that will defend us against the violence of the state, the right wing and their supporters," the office-bearers said in their message.

They, however, stressed that the "Defence committees must act in a disciplined way under the political leadership of our democratic structures".

In repeating the federation's demand for a commission of inquiry into the role of police in the Natal violence, the office-bearers also called for the dismissal of law and order minister Adriaan Vlok and the removal of kwaZulu cops.

While stating its independence, Cosatu office-bearers also pointed out that the federation acknowledged the leadership of the ANC. "Our task is to ensure that the ANC becomes a mass-based party with well-organised democratic structures.

"Let us ensure that the future ANC government advances the interests of the working class," the message said. At the same time, the federation called on all its structures to discuss what Cosatu's alliance with the ANC and SACP would mean in practice.

A number of questions on how the federation, its leadership and membership will relate to the ANC and SACP still remain unanswered. While it is largely accepted that members of the federation will join the ANC and SACP as individuals, the question of whether those in leadership should take up positions in either of these organisations remains unanswered.

At a political level, the message boldly repeats that the central demand of the federation remains the transfer of all power to the people. It spells out its demand for a constituent assembly elected on a non-racial common voters' role and says it will not accept leaders imposed on anyone.

On negotiations, Cosatu said this could only begin after all political prisoners are released, exiles are allowed to return unconditionally, the state of emergency is lifted and all security legislation was repealed.

* Natal Unrest Seen Spreading To Remote Areas

34000680B Johannesburg *THE CITIZEN*
in English 16 May 90 p 16

[Article: "Natal Unrest Spreads To Remote Areas"]

[Text] Pietermaritzburg—While Natal's political violence has centred mostly on densely populated townships surrounding Durban and Pietermaritzburg, it has recently spread to more remote areas.

In Greytown's Enhlalakahle township, about 60 km from Pietermaritzburg, more than a dozen homes have been set on fire and several people killed. Teachers reported children were too scared to attend school.

"The township's in a shambles. It's a mess. Please cover Greytown," a resident pleaded.

The man was one of several Enhlalakahle residents who telephoned recently to tell of renewed violence in the township after unrest scarred it in 1988.

At the end of 1988, the violence subsided, and in 1989 the township lived up to its name—Enhlalakahle means "good living".

"But now it's all happening again. Children are being threatened. Lots of people are fleeing the township," one resident remarked.

Names mentioned are the same as those at the centre of the conflict in 1988—Inkatha chairman Timothy Zondi and

township councillors on the one side, and Mr Alfred Mzolo and ANC/UDF [African National Congress/United Democratic Front]-supporting youths on the other.

Although political unrest claimed an estimated 21 lives in 1988, the violence had gone by undocumented by the media. The police had reported few incidents in their daily unrest bulletins.

While residents now talk about gunmen moving into the township and staying at the houses of the Inkatha chairman and other Inkatha members, and Mzolo home has become a base for ANC-supporting youth.

The renewed violence began after the attempted killing of Mr Mzolo on Sunday, April 8. Mr Mzolo said he was returning from church at nearby Seven Oaks when he was stopped by a hitchhiker and shot twice through the neck and jaw by a gunman who emerged from nearby bushes.

Police reported that two men travelling with Mr Mzolo were killed.

Three days before, Mr Mzolo had held talks with Mr Zondi and other Inkatha leaders in anticipation of violence spreading from Pietermaritzburg, where the continuing conflict had erupted into warfare.

The talks were in vain. That night, two youths were assaulted and one of them fatally stabbed. Friends of the dead youth blamed Inkatha supporters for the stabbings and said their names were given to the police.

The shooting of Mr Mzolo heightened tensions in the township. Speaking through a shattered jaw and mutilated mouth, from his hospital bed, Mr Mzolo accused Inkatha of wanting to take control and wipe out opposition.

Mr Zondi denied this and reported the township was peaceful.

Soon afterwards sporadic incidents of violence occurred. The home of a non-aligned resident, Mr Fofo Zuma, was attacked. His wife was shot in the back and a visitor seriously injured.

"He was just a community member who did not support Inkatha," said a resident.

On Saturday, April 28, the attacks on Inkatha homes began. A township employee, who did not want to be named, provided the details.

First, the home of former mayor Mr P. J. Duma was attacked. On Sunday, April 29, Mr Zondi's home was shot at. Shortly afterwards an elderly Inkatha supporter, Mr Bafana Chamane, was killed at a neighbour's home. His son was later shot and wounded when ANC-supporting youths attacked and burned the grieving family's home.

On Wednesday, May 2, two more Inkatha homes were attacked, while the Mzolo family also reported that they were attacked that day. R1 and R4 rifles were allegedly used.

On Friday May 4 a shop owned by the mayor, Mr P. J. Ndlovu, was razed.

UDF-supporting youths claimed responsibility, saying earnings from the shop were being used to buy guns.—Sapa.

Angola

Savimbi Interview: I Am an Instrument of Peace
PM1206091090 Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese
2 Jun 90 ("A Revista" section) pp 56-57

[Interview with National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, leader Jonas Savimbi by Paulo Camacho in Mavinga; date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Camacho] During the last offensive, the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] succeeded for the first time in crossing the Lomba River, but then made a strange three-month pause near Mavinga. How do you explain that pause?

[Savimbi] They broke through the Lomba defense line in two places, but they had their whole military apparatus on the left bank of the river, so they had to build bridges in order to be able to cross, partly because the movable bridges which they brought with them were all destroyed. Second, that pause was not a voluntary pause; it was a pause which was forced on them. Moreover, they had also lost a great deal of equipment and some men, and needed Cuito Cuanavale to replace the men and also the equipment.

[Camacho] There was talk of a message from Washington to Luanda's foreign minister, Pedro Van Dunem "Loy," not to attack Jamba. Do you believe that this had nothing to do with that pause?

[Savimbi] No. First, the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] does not heed what Washington says. The MPLA wishes to have better relations with Washington, but is more dependent on the Russians than on the Americans. As you know, I had to break off my visit to Portugal, and I arrived at the front 3 February. At that time, there was absolutely no wish on the part of the MPLA to halt the offensive.

[Camacho] You say that the MPLA does not heed Washington. Do you believe that the MPLA staged that offensive—with the avowed intention of its being a final attack on UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]—without having assurances that there would be no U.S. interference?

[Savimbi] No. The MPLA is always mistaken about all that. I have twice accompanied "Loy" in the United States. The MPLA does not understand the U.S. mentality. First, the Americans essentially want democracy; nobody can sell them anything else. We were once before a House of Representatives committee when "Loy" made his statement, and at the end stated that he wanted a single party system. That is the first mistake that the MPLA makes. The second is that the MPLA seeks out the U.S. left, because it is perhaps closest to its thinking, in order to lobby in the United States. It does not work; the Americans do not think in that way.

The MPLA's offensive's sole aim was to reach Jamba. The MPLA had a fixation: that UNITA was not a viable force without the South Africans. Since the South Africans had withdrawn, it was necessary to demonstrate the validity of this assumption; to prove that UNITA on its own is a giant with feet of clay. And that is why this offensive's code name was "The Final Attack." But the final attack can only be made on Jamba; the final attack cannot be made on Mavinga. So the MPLA prepared this offensive very carefully over a long time.

[Camacho] You said that the MPLA tried to prove that UNITA was nothing without the South Africans, but UNITA is now largely dependent not on the South Africans but on the Americans....

[Savimbi] But without any Americans; we have no Americans on the ground.

[Camacho] But there used to be South Africans on the ground?

[Savimbi] Yes, yes....

[Camacho] Recently?

[Savimbi] No, in 1987. The South Africans were here during the 1987 offensive—2,000 men in Mavinga. But this time UNITA was on its own. We received equipment, just as we have received it every year, with one difference: The MPLA was heavily dependent on the Soviets—not just Soviets who made plans but Soviets who were even close to Mavinga. They left when we proved to the Americans that the Soviets were there. The Americans told the Soviets that that could not be accepted, so they left—there were 60-odd of them—but they were here for a long time, until the MPLA crossed the Lomba.

[Camacho] Immediately after the victory at Mavinga, you visited Zaire and spoke with U.S. Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Herman Cohen and with President Mobutu. Was it they who asked to speak with you?

[Savimbi] It was they who asked me—I cannot ask. It was they who invited me to come and talk, and see what would be done after Mavinga.

[Camacho] And what will be done?

[Savimbi] Well, the conversation went as follows: So far, and even in the context of the direct negotiations between UNITA and the MPLA in Evora, it was accepted that President Mobutu remains the official mediator—what this means I do not know—but it was also acknowledged that there were certain shortcomings in that mediation. However, it was also stressed in the conversation which we had with Assistant Secretary Cohen and with President Mobutu that Portugal's good offices—that is what we call that operation—should not only continue but should be encouraged. At the same time, UNITA says that it would be unrealistic from the geopolitical viewpoint for us to ignore or even antagonize Zaire. So we tried to find out from Ambassador

Cohen whether—since we are all in agreement with the role which Portugal is playing right now—he was ousting Mobutu completely, and he said "no"; that Mobutu remains the official mediator, but let us allow Portugal to do the work until we meet again. Then we will see how President Mobutu can fit into that mediation process.

[Camacho] Are your personal relations with Secretary of State Durao Barroso good now?

[Savimbi] They are good, yes.... When I visited Lisbon, in the interview that I gave to Portuguese radio and television they tried to provoke me to see whether I would say certain things. I did not do so: It would have been improper. And then when we had our meeting I felt rather bad. Fortunately [Portuguese Prime Minister] Cavaco Silva resolved the problem, so I said: Unfortunately, it did happen; but it is in the past. Our relations are good now; I even telephone Durao Barroso—I have a telephone link via satellite here—and we talk.

[Camacho] General Tony da Costa Fernandes has visited Lisbon and, according to UNITA, he brought some very flexible proposals with him....

[Savimbi] Very concrete, too....

[Camacho] In which fields is UNITA willing to be flexible?

[Savimbi] In the political field. The question arose of whether or not we would recognize the Luanda regime, and we said: To recognize the Luanda Government is more difficult, but to recognize the State of Angola—because it is there—and to recognize the head of state, who is also there and with whom we wish to engage in dialogue, is difficult for us, but it can be done....

[Camacho] In exchange for what?

[Savimbi] So that there is an atmosphere suitable for conversations. But we will indeed request something in exchange. Negotiations entail both giving and receiving: Now we are giving, but we also expect to receive.

[Camacho] UNITA now says that it does not want to participate in a transitional government before the elections, though I believe that UNITA did make some suggestions earlier about what posts it would want in a transitional government. What is the reason for this change of strategy?

[Savimbi] No, no...UNITA never requested any posts. I believe that this was speculation. We believe that the Angolan administration is complex, and a transitional government will in no way be able to provide remedies to the political, economic, and social situation. We prefer the administration to do it; we want the MPLA to shoulder this responsibility of leading Angola to the elections. What will UNITA do in a transitional government? Discuss policy. We cannot agree to talk about transport or the economy, because we have no basis on which to do so. We do not know what has been done over the past 15 years. Our scope would be basically political,

and this would further delay the economic reform trend. We therefore believe that our presence would not be beneficial. It is better for us to wait until later.

[Camacho] Van Dunen "Lo," said recently that perhaps it was still too soon to talk about a multiparty system in Angola....

[Savimbi] No, it is not too soon.... It was not too soon in Namibia, it was not too soon in Zaire, it is not too soon anywhere. We believe it is a necessity—a necessity that will ensure reconciliation, because UNITA cannot be part of the MPLA. If we stick with UNITA and graft UNITA to the MPLA, a FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] graft to FAPLA will not take. The multiparty system is one of the conditions for a democracy: You cannot create democracy with a single party....

[Camacho] But does the fact that Luanda says that perhaps the conditions do not yet exist for a multiparty system mean that negotiations will be difficult?

[Savimbi] No, no, no.... They will not, because otherwise the war will escalate, and that would be terrible. We must accept the fact that neither does UNITA have the capability to defeat the MPLA—and we have never dreamed of doing so—nor can they defeat us. What we can do is gradually destroy Angola's infrastructures.

[Camacho] I believe that some time ago you were willing to retire for a while if that would facilitate the normalization of Angolan political life. Are you still willing to do it?

[Savimbi] No, never! I never said that. My previous position—which is now UNITA's official position—was that I did not want to participate personally in the transitional government: This does not mean my retiring from political life. We will never retire from political life, because this is the MPLA's plan, which it has failed to achieve: It tried it with Mobutu, and it tried it with the Portuguese. The MPLA is afraid, and you cannot conduct political activity if you are afraid: You have to face the challenge.

[Camacho] But there are many people in Angola—specifically, the so-called independents, those who were at the Cadres Conference—who still say that you are the major obstacle to peace....

[Savimbi] They are lying, because I am an instrument of peace. If I had not been here, if I had joined the procession of cadres abroad, the Cubans would be here. Nobody would have talked about Namibia's independence in exchange for the Cubans. It was my struggle that enabled the Americans to find the linkage between Namibia's independence and the Cubans' departure.

[Camacho] Some people are afraid that these years of struggle have hardened your heart and that this bitterness will be reflected once you are based in Luanda....

[Savimbi] No, those people are not serious. It is exile that has hardened people's hearts: They have lived well for a

long time, and now they are afraid to come here. Nothing has hardened our hearts. On the contrary, we look to the future with great optimism; we have absolutely no rancor.

We recognize the First Cadres Congress: We sent a message to it, we praised the initiative, and we still believe that it was a good initiative. But I want them to recognize that without our struggle there would be no prospect of peace in Angola. The number of Cubans here in Angola reached 60,000: Why are they leaving? In August, when there was an ordinary incident and a number of Cubans died, there was an uproar in Washington and Pretoria. We had to seek a meeting with the Cubans, and we gave a guarantee that there would be no repetition of such incidents as long as the Cubans told us where they were. So UNITA is a key factor in the Angolan question, because it was the Cubans who frustrated our independence, though it is debatable how much frustration the South Africans introduced into the problem.

[Camacho] When and where did you have these meetings with the Cubans?

[Savimbi] We had several—in Austria, France, Africa, Geneva....

[Camacho] Starting when?

[Savimbi] Well, starting in August 1988. And we are still having them.

[Camacho] You are sure of a victory in the elections, aren't you?

[Savimbi] Oh, yes!

[Camacho] By what percentage do you believe you can....

[Savimbi] It depends: It is only necessary to secure close to 50 percent—and we will, we definitely will.

[Camacho] Are you not afraid that elections in Angola will legitimize the country's division into ethnic regions?

[Savimbi] No, not at all! The people of Cabinda will vote UNITA in Cabinda. The secretary general is a grandson or great-grandson of Puna de Cabinda: He will not vote in Huambo; he will vote in Cabinda. General Dembo, who is liberating the North—the man who is cutting off electricity and water supplies to Luanda is not me but Dembo—is from Nambangongo, from the area of the Kimbundos. Ernesto Mulato, who is our ambassador in Bonn, is from Bembe, the area of the Quincongos. UNITA will have a sufficiently high percentage throughout the country—not only on an ethnic basis.

[Camacho] When do you believe it will be possible to hold these elections?

[Savimbi] It must be next year. So we believe that now the most important thing that we want Portugal to achieve—because Durao Barroso is a politician, I have heard—is to perform this task so that we can at least

have a cease-fire. I am sure that in a few months' time—two or three at the most—we will achieve a cease-fire. The elections must be in 1991; they cannot be any later than that.

[Camacho] "Multiparty system" is a relative newcomer to UNITA's vocabulary. Was the transition of the movement—which originated on Maoist bases—to this advocacy of and adherence to a multiparty system difficult?

[Savimbi] No. Ever since it was formed UNITA has always advocated unity within diversity. UNITA never had in mind a monolithic form of government for Angola. Even at the start we advocated elections, and when we advocated them we also said that nobody must disappear. If the FNLA [National Front for the Liberation of Angola] does not now play a very important role, it is because Holden Roberto decided to flee. This is nothing new: We have always advocated Angola's unity within diversity, and at that time this diversity meant the FNLA, the MPLA, and us—the technocrats came later....

[Camacho] You spoke about unity within diversity. There are factions within all political parties: Factions are unknown within UNITA....

[Savimbi] In a situation of war it would be irresponsible for us to have factions when we have a single adversary. However, I have no illusions that there are not individuals within UNITA who do not accept everything. When I proposed that we unilaterally do two important things—stop attacking the MPLA on Vorgan, our broadcasting station, even if the MPLA continued its own attacks; and recognize the status of the chief of state—it cost us. They then said: We reject this. We had to take a gamble: These are not issues that you can put before the Central Committee and that will be accepted immediately. They were not accepted, and I can even tell you that there are still many people who do not accept them. They say, "Let us see: This is your gamble; if it produces a result, fine; otherwise let us resume the debate." A large number of people are merely waiting. In UNITA this apparent unity does not reflect total agreement on all viewpoints....

[Camacho] But you usually manage to ensure that your own positions prevail....

[Savimbi] I do, inasmuch as I know how to conduct a dialogue.

Namibia

14 June Press Review on Foreign Grants, Loans
MB/406112390

[Editorial Report]

TIMES OF NAMIBIA

Criticism of 'Begging' for Grants, not Loans—Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA in English on 11 June in a page 2 editorial remarks Prime Minister Geingob went abroad

to "convince Germany that Namibia needs grants, not loans," and this "begging safari" displays a "particular ignorance about the developed world's attitude towards Africa." "THE TIMES, on more than one occasion, remarked on the government's priority for budgetary aid, as contrasted to development assistance. The priority for budgetary aid instead of development assistance is linked to an implicit preference for a centrally-planned instead of a market-orientated economy. Whether we like it or not, the collapse of centrally-planned economies made a market-orientated economy the precondition to obtain any assistance at all. The government will have exorcised the implicit preference for a centrally-planned economy from their thinking. Although Mr. Geingob is vague as to the administration of the grants he is asking for, the notion of a 'grant' carries an undertone of allowing self-administration of the monies."

Swaziland

King Meets South African Foreign Minister

MB1406172990 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1300 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Pretoria June 14 SAPA—Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha departed on Thursday on a two-day trip to two neighbouring states and a homeland to inform their leaders of President F.W. de Klerk's recent tour to Europe.

On Thursday he met Swaziland's King Mswati III in Mbabane to inform the Swazi leader on Mr. de Klerk's ground-breaking nine-nation European visit, a spokeswoman for the SA Trade Mission in Mbabane told SAPA on Thursday.

On Friday [15 Jun], the minister will visit Bophuthatswana whereafter he flies to Lesotho to meet the country's military leader and chairman of the Ministers Council, Maj.-Gen. Justin Lekhanya.

Mr. Botha will also be having his first meeting with his Lesotho counterpart, Mr. Tom Thabane, a spokesman for the SA [South African] Trade Mission in Maseru said.

Discuss Regional Developments

MB1406204190 Johannesburg Television Service
in English 1800 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha met Swazi King Mswati III in Swaziland this afternoon. In a statement released a short while ago, Mr. Botha said he had briefed the king on recent political developments in South Africa and on state President de Klerk's visit to Europe.

He said it was important that the ten southern African states should study the implications of European economic unity.

Mr. Botha said he and King Mswati had also discussed construction of the Maguga Dam and that the Swazi Government had said it would give urgent attention to this project.

Ivory Coast**Ivorian Evacuees Return From Liberia**

*AB1406120690 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN
in French 13 Jun 90 P.26*

[Text] Monday, 11 June—It is 2055 at the Abidjan Port-Bouet International Airport. A Fokker-28 of the Ivorian airlines, Air Ivoire, has just landed. Passengers start disembarking. Among them, 70 Ivorian nationals are also on board coming from Liberia. These Ivorian nationals were fleeing the violence prevailing now in Liberia. They said they first disembarked in San Pedro (from an Air Cargo of Liberia flight) and then boarded the Fokker-28 from this Ivorian town.

At the airport, our reporters questioned them on the situation prevailing in Liberia. These brothers coming from Liberia were mainly students and children. Mr. Yves Tieffi, an English student, said that the situation was very dramatic for any Ivorian living in Liberia. He said he felt threatened and went to live at our Embassy in Liberia for two weeks along with other students. [passage omitted]

Liberia**Correspondent Describes March in Monrovia**

*AB1406182790 London BBC World Service in English
1615 GMT 14 Jun 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] There have been another two hours of peace talks in Sierra Leone between the Liberian Government and Charles Taylor's Patriotic Front rebels. And they have been described by a rebel delegate as making some progress. But back in Monrovia people have been taking to the streets in a peace march organized by the Council of Churches. In particular, they are protesting over the spate of murders in and around the capital, and especially the weekend killings of a local mayor and a university professor. On the line, Josephine Hazeley asked journalist Tom Hinney in Monrovia how the march had gone.

[Begin recording] [Hinney] The march went very well, and it was led by Bishop Arthur Kular of the United Methodist Church and approximately 3,000 Christians took part in the march.

[Hazeley] We understand that something in the region of 10,000 people were there?

[Hinney] No, no. It could have been, OK? But because of the bad weather, apparently a lot of people who were wishing to take part, you know, stayed away. But it did not reach 10,000. They were in the neighborhood of about 3,000.

[Hazeley] What was the mood of the marchers?

[Hinney] Well, the marchers were, you know, chanting: God, come and help us! We want peace! We want peace, and we want peace!

[Hazeley] Were there banners?

[Hinney] Yes, banners bearing religious slogans, like I said: God come and help us! God come and help us!

[Hazeley] How long was the route of today's march?

[Hinney] The march covered nearly 3,000 miles [as heard]. They started from a church called (Estruan) United Methodist Church, went on through the major streets of Monrovia up to the American Embassy and then back to a place called Centenary Pavilion for an indoor service.

[Hazeley] And what happened at the indoor service?

[Hinney] Well, bishops and clergymen were offering prayers and praying to God, like I said, for peace. And they called for a halt to the wanton killings in Monrovia. As you know, the recent killings that took place last Sunday in the city of (Kru Ashling) [Clay-Ashland] of the city mayor, (Alvanger Richards) and two of his councilmen, really, really, really brought a lot of sorrow to the Liberian people and, you know, it was indeed, a pity to see such good men just being slaughtered.

[Hazeley] What do you think this sort of march could achieve?

[Hinney] Well, we think it could achieve a whole lot. One thing it could achieve, it brought together the Liberian people and to pray in unity to the Almighty God, and it will draw the attention of apparently those who are involved in the killings and, you know..

[Hazeley] One final question. You know the peace talks have begun in Freetown. What do people in Monrovia make of it all?

[Hinney] A lot of people want to see progress made out of the peace talks because, you see, this is the first time in the history of Liberia that we have to leave our own country to go to another soil to settle matters. Liberia is known for being a peace settler, and to see us down there, trying to make peace among ourselves in a foreign country, I think a lot of people want to see a good outcome. [end recording]

Niger**Government, Trade Unions Reach Accord for Calm**

*AB1406204590 Paris AFP in French 2006 GMT
14 Jun 90*

[Text] Niamey, 14 Jun (AFP)—The Niger Government and trade unions this evening reached an agreement, and the demonstrations scheduled for Friday have been called off, Mr. Laouali Moutari, secretary general of the

Federation of Trade Unions of Niger (USTN), has announced to AFP. The 48 students and two trade unionists arrested during the strike on Monday and Tuesday are to be released immediately, and the USTN will call for calm, Mr. Moutari stated.

Mr. Moutari said he will read a statement calling for calm on radio and television as soon as he determines that the demonstrators have been released, he told AFP.

It will be recalled that the trade unions were protesting a series of measures aimed at saving the government money on its budget.

Detainees Released

AB1506095790 Niamey Domestic Service in French
0530 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Statement by Laouali Moutari, general secretary of the Federation of Trade Unions of Niger, on meeting with Higher Council of National Orientation officials in Niamey on 14 June 1990 issued 14 June—recorded]

[Text] Participants in the session of the Higher Council of National Orientation, CSON, has set up an ad hoc committee charged with examining with the Federation of Trade Unions of Niger, USTN, the conditions for normalizing the social situation, which has been gravely disrupted over the past few days. This ad hoc committee has met with the USTN National Executive Committee, and the participants adopted the principle of opening frank and responsible discussions to find appropriate solutions to the problems currently being raised by the trade unions.

Both sides have already agreed on the first point, namely the release of our comrades. Thus, all unionists and university and high school students who were arrested for striking and meetings in Niamey as well as in the interior, have been released. Comrade Issoufou Kado, who is the general secretary of [words indistinct] and Comrade Ahmadou Mairjia, his assistant, have been released. The protest march, slated for tomorrow, Friday, 15 June 1990, is therefore called off. Frank negotiations will continue to create the conditions necessary for a responsible dialogue between the unions and the government. All the released detainees—be they workers or university and high school students—are invited to report to the Niamey Labor Exchange, for those residing in Niamey, and at the headquarters of the USTN branches, for those residing in the interior. Furthermore, we call on the officials of these branches to inform us as soon as possible whether the comrades in the interior have also been released.

We, therefore, call on all workers to return to their work places and wait for new instructions. Thank you.

Nigeria

Nigerians in Liberia Receive Death Threats

AB1406131490 Dakar PANA in English 1314 GMT
14 Jan 90

[Text] Lagos, 14 June (NAN/PANA)—Nigeria has denied involvement in the Liberian crisis a Nigerian national daily, THE GUARDIAN of Thursday stated. According to THE GUARDIAN, the denial followed death threats against Nigerian nationals by unidentified persons adding that Nigeria's ambassador to Liberia, Mohammed Tukuru [name as received] had "received an anonymous letter allegedly by supporters of Charles Taylor-led National Patriotic Front of Liberia" (NPFL).

It said that copies of the letter, which were sent to influential Nigerians in Monrovia, warned that Nigerians would be targets of attack whenever they (the NPFL) entered the capital. "Tukuru however denied Nigeria's involvement, saying his country had no hand in the crisis," THE GUARDIAN said, adding that panicky Nigerians held a meeting on Monday with Tukuru over the threat and on plans for their emergency evacuation.

The paper however said that by Wednesday, no plans for evacuation was underway as the Nigerian Embassy believed that the crisis in Liberia had not reached a stage for evacuation of its nationals and that "the embassy officials are still awaiting response from Lagos. It observed that several Nigerians had fled Liberia through Sierra Leone, Guinea and Cote D'Ivoire adding that most of these Nigerians have stayed in Liberia for 30 years and had nationalised.

Western Media 'Whipped Up' Liberian Antagonisms

AB1406102590 Lagos International Service
in English 1030 GMT 11 Jun 90

[Isola Dada commentary]

[Text] After almost six months of bitter fighting, the rebels aiming to overthrow President Samuel Doe and the government of Monrovia have agreed to hold peace talks in neighboring Sierra Leone. The peace talks are at the instance of the Liberian church leaders. The outcome of these talks cannot yet be predicted, but it is perhaps pertinent to warn from the onset that the current confrontational attitude pervading both sides will not augur well for a peaceful deliberation. Rather, a spirit of give and take—in short, a conciliatory stand—is the only one that can usher in peace in Liberia.

The Liberian Government has said it wants to negotiate to end the fighting, while the rebels said they are willing to discuss the modalities for a cease-fire, but demanded the removal of President Doe. Fortunately, the venue of the peace talks is Freetown, Sierra Leone, a country which is a staunch member of the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS, which recently set up

a standing committee to mediate in disputes in and among member states. This is therefore an opportune time for the committee to step in and reconcile the two warring parties. In doing this, however, there are some fundamental issues that must be tackled to be able to successfully resolve the Liberian debacle. One of these is, first, to get at the root of the dispute without necessarily getting entangled in the internal affairs of Liberia.

President Samuel Doe came to power 10 years ago after a bloody coup d'etat. Since then, he has survived 10 military coup attempts on his life, some of them brutal. His method of governing since then has no doubt eroded confidence among the American Liberians and other groups in Liberia. Consequently, for any mediation effort to succeed, it must try to resolve all elements of tribal antagonism which, thanks to Western media, has been successfully whipped up. This is not to say, however, that the issue in Liberia does not transcend ethnic rivalry. It is more political than ethnic. Therefore, it requires tactful handling. The task of the standing committee, if at all it is stepping into the dispute, will be made easy because, curiously, the foreign interests in the Liberian crisis have not gone beyond foreign media manipulation through which they dictate the pace of this fighting between the two sides.

Unlike in Angola and Mozambique, the foreign interest is not able to choose between Samuel Doe and Charles Taylor. And this may influence the outcome of the talks in Freetown. It is therefore most likely that neither Doe nor Charles Taylor may emerge eventually to rule Liberia after the current crisis may have been resolved. If this is the supreme sacrifice both of them are called upon to make to resolve the crisis, let it be. After all, Liberia as a country is greater than an individual.

And if, as each of them has stated repeatedly, their objective is to see a free and peaceful Liberia, such a sacrifice would not be too much for them to make. What is important, however, is that any decisions which will emerge at the end of this crisis must be one which has adequately addressed the issue of harmony among all ethnic groupings in Liberia. To brush the issue aside will amount to sitting on a keg of gunpowder. A situation in which tribes now supporting President Doe are openly expressing fear of reprisals from the group supporting Charles Taylor and are therefore fleeing the country will not augur well for the future cohesion of Liberia, if not properly addressed now and resolved amicably in the interest of all Liberians.

Sierra Leone

Liberian Delegates Plan Solution 'Very Soon'

AB1406213790 Paris AFP in English 2124 GMT
14 Jun 90

[Text] Freetown, June 14 (AFP)—Liberian Government officials and National Patriotic Front (NPFL) rebels made "some progress" during the third day of talks

Thursday to end a six-month insurgency, according to delegates who said discussion focussed on a ceasefire.

The rebels' demand for the resignation of President Samuel Doe "could possibly come up" when the talks resume Friday morning, said the Reverend Levee Moulton, chairman of the Inter-Faith Mediating Committee.

Delegates said they plan to come up with a solution "very soon," as they left the United States Embassy here after near seven hours of deliberations Thursday. The Rev. Moulton said the talks were "going well," and he hoped they wrap up in "the next two or three days."

The NPFL rebels led by former Liberian government official Charles Taylor have been seeking since December to oust Mr. Doe. Late Wednesday, the parties to the conflict issued a statement saying they would make efforts to guarantee security to the civilian ethnic groups most affected by the violence and killings.

Rebel Spokesman Says 'Some Progress'

AB1506092090 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
0710 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] The Liberian Government and the National Patriotic Front yesterday met again in Freetown, Sierra Leone, to try to agree on a framework for a cease-fire. The leader of the delegation representing the National Patriotic Front, Mr. Tom Woewiyu is reported as saying some progress has been achieved, but gave no details. His talks with Liberian representatives lasted two hours yesterday morning before an adjournment to allow church leaders who brought the two sides together to brief the Sierra Leonean leader, President Joseph Momoh.

4th Day of Talks Begin

AB1506143190 Paris AFP in English 1350 GMT
15 Jun 90

[Text] Freetown, June 15 (AFP)—Liberian Government officials and National Patriotic Front (NPFL) rebels opened their fourth day of talks in the Sierra Leone capital Friday with a possible cease-fire agreement expected to be discussed, officials told journalists here. The two sides were also expected to raise the possibility of President Samuel Doe's resignation, one of the rebels' primary demands.

Government and rebel delegations as well as the inter-faith mediating committee of Liberian Church leaders ended Thursday's talks by saying some progress had been made and that they hoped to come up with a solution to the six-month insurgency "very soon." Information Minister Emmanuel Bowier told Agence France-Presse after the talks that he and other members of the Government team were prepared to continue the deliberations "until we have peace."

NPFL rebels, led by fugitive former civil servant Charles Taylor, launched their bid to oust Mr. Doe last

December in Liberia's northeastern Nimba Country. They have advanced to within 30 miles (48 kilometers) of the Liberian capital Monrovia.

Doe Biographer Says President Should Quit

*AB1506132990 Paris AFP in English 1315 GMT
15 Jun 90*

[By Richard Nyberg]

[Text] Freetown, June 15 (AFP)—With rebels at his doorstep and pressure from all sides for him to step down, Liberian President Samuel Doe does not know who his friends are anymore. Standing outside the U.S. Embassy in Freetown, where peace talks between the Liberian Government and the national Patriotic Front (NPFL) rebels entered their fourth day Friday, Mr. Doe's public relations man had a surprising assessment of the government position.

"He (Mr. Doe) should quit, leave and go," said Mohamed Savage, a Doe official and journalist based in London who flew in for the talks. "If he wants to stay and fight, well I wish him luck. The rebels are winning," he told AGENCIE FRANCE-PRESSE. "I am fed up with the whole thing."

Mr. Savage's attacks on the government stance seemed out of place at the peace talks where NPFL delegates, Liberian officials and the religious leaders acting as mediators have been relatively tight-lipped, saying only that some progress has been made toward resolving the six-month insurgency against Mr. Doe. Going into the talks, NPFL leaders made it clear they wanted Mr. Doe

to leave office to pave the way for a transitional government made up mostly of people from the rebel movement.

Mr. Savage, a Sierra Leonean national whose political biography of Mr. Doe rolled off the presses in April, insists that the president and the talks are doomed.

"We don't want him to step down...a better word is resign," he joked. He straightened up later to say he was on the government's side but that "he had to tell the truth."

"Doe's down now and he's not going to get back up," he said, adding that he told Information Minister Emmanuel Bowier, who is a member of the delegation, on Sunday that "it's over" and that the president must leave office. On the talks, Mr. Savage said: "They're going to fail. They've already failed." He said he knew rebel leader Charles Taylor personally and that the 42-year-old NPFL military chief did not want to be president, but that he would serve as interim leader in a transitional government.

Owner of the London-based AFRICA WEEKLY, Mr. Savage said government soldiers "will go on killing" innocent Liberians. He said rebels had "only killed soldiers, not civilians." He said many government officials had fled Liberia, and that Doe press secretary Patrick Kugmeh took his wife and four children and moved into Mr. Savage's Freetown residence.

In his book on Mr. Doe's political life since 1980, Mr. Savage lauds the president as natural leader, "gregarious friend" and a "magnanimous nationbuilder." As the president's chief public relation's officer for the past two years, he has written numerous articles to prop up the image of Mr. Doe and Liberia.

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